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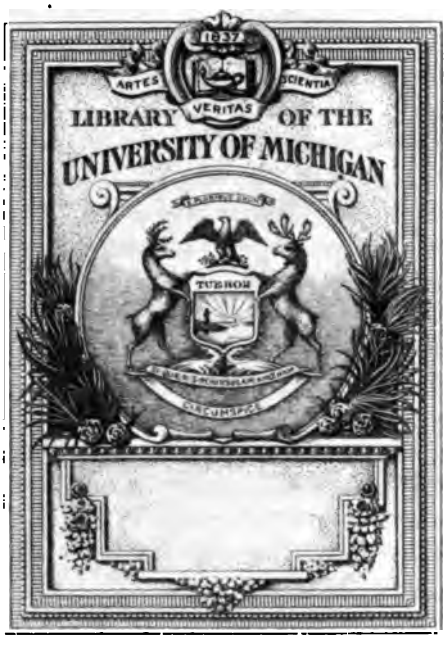
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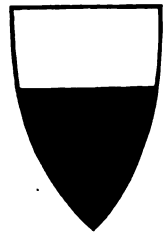
BY

WILLIAM HEYWOOD

AND

LUCY OLCOTT






SIENA
ENRICO TORRINI, PUBLISHER.
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PREFACE

FOR some years there has been an ever increasing demand for an adequate *English Guide* to Siena; and, indeed, I have heretofore only been deterred from attempting to supply what I am well satisfied is a real want, by the difficulty of finding an author upon whose knowledge and accuracy I felt able to rely. It is not every art critic who is capable of writing History, and many historians are lamentably ignorant of the first principles of Art. This difficulty has been finally solved by the employment of two different persons, each thoroughly competent in his or her particular line.

The writing of the *Guide Book* proper has been entrusted to Miss L. M. Olcott, who for several years has devoted special attention to the study of Sienese Art, and who has enjoyed the advantage of the counsel and assistance of two such well-known and authoritative critics as Mr Bernhard Berenson and Mr F. Mason Perkins.



The *Historical Introduction*, on the other hand, is from the pen of Mr William Heywood, the only Englishman whose name appears among the list of Corresponding Associates of the *Commissione Senese di Storia Patria*, and whose prolonged residence in Siena has already borne fruit in more than one work dealing with the history of the mediæval Commune.

It only remains to add that, with the exception of the Appendix, there has been no collaboration between the writers of the separate parts. Each is exclusively responsible for his or her respective section.

ENRICO TORRINI, Editor.

Siena, 1903.

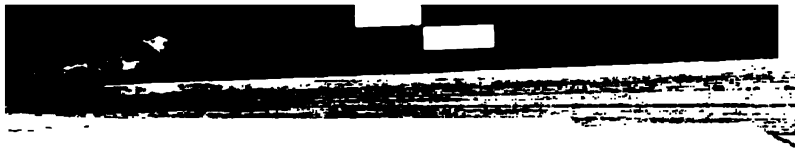


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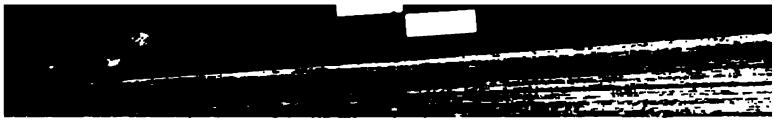
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TOPOGRAPHICAL

Noi ci traemmo alla città di Siena,
La quale è posta in parte forte e sana,
Di leggiadria, di bei costumi piena,
Di vaghe donne e d'homini cortesi,
Con aer dolce lucida e serena.

FAZIO DEGLI UBERTI, *Il dittamondo*

Its built high and low, with many high towers in it; and this makes it seen thirty miles off on *Romes* side. The people here are very civil, and euen sociable too; which together with the good ayre, the good exercises for gentlemen, the good language, and the great priuiledges, make many strangers draw bridle here, and sommer it at *Siena*, the *Orleans* of *Italy*.

R. LASSELS. *The Voyage of Italy*.

SIENA is 60 miles by rail south of Florence and 160 north-west of Rome, and is situated at an altitude of 1330 feet above the sea level.

Its climate is probably pleasanter than that of any other Tuscan city. With Florence in particular it compares most favourably, being far cooler in summer, and, if not actually warmer in winter, at least apparently so, by reason of its drier atmosphere and greater freedom from cold winds.



The city stands upon three hills, along the ridges of which its three principal thoroughfares extend. This gives it, as seen from the summit of the Torre del Mangia, something of the appearance of a huge star-fish with three rays. Possibly it is to this conformation that the town owes its division into *Terzi* or *Terzieri,* viz. the Terzo di Città, the Terzo di San Martino and the Terzo di Camollia—a division which goes back to the earliest days of the Commune and which is still maintained.

These *Terzi* are again divided into 17 *contrade* or wards, each with a distinct appellation, chapel and flag of its own. Of these *contrade* the Terzo di Città and the Terzo di Camollia each contain six, that of San Martino five.

A special condition is created by the zone which surrounds the periphery of the city and which bears the name of the *Masse.*

The area within the walls of Siena is about 2 ½ square miles.

Anciently the city was furnished with numerous gates, at one time as many as thirty-six. Today these are reduced to eight, including the Barriera San Lorenzo.

The water-supply is drawn from natural springs in the surrounding hills, and is, at any rate at its source, of excellent quality. What impurities it may have accumulated before it reaches the public fountains is another matter.



It is brought to the city through subterranean acqueducts which are known as *bottini,* and which by successive excavations have attained a length of more than fifteen miles. It is recorded that the Emperor Charles V., when he inspected them in 1535, declared that Siena was more beautiful under than above ground. On this matter the imperial judgment may be open to question; but the *bottini* certainly well repay a visit. They are quite practicable even for ladies.

The population of Siena at the last census was 27,306, thus showing an increase of 2102 during the preceding decade. The population of the *Masse* is 10,317.

The Province of Siena, comprising about 1467 square miles and 37 communes, has a total population of 233,874.

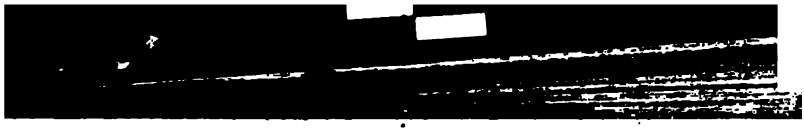
The Diocese of Siena is an Archbishopric, dating from 1459, and includes 18 city and 95 rural parishes divided into 12 vicariates.

The city possesses a University which existed at least as early as the 13th century, and which is limited to the faculties of law and medicine. Among other public institutions the following are the more important:—the Town Library *(Biblioteca Comunale)* first opened to students in the 17th century; the Archivio, a record office, instituted in 1858, containing a valuable and splendidly arranged collection of documents; the Fine Arts Institution *(Accademia delle Belle*

Arti) founded in 1816; and the natural history museum of the *Accademia dei Fisiocritici,* inaugurated in the same year. There are also many flourishing charities, including an excellent hospital and a school for the deaf and dumb.

There are English Church Services for a few weeks in the Spring (beginning, as a rule, the Sunday before Easter). They are generally held at the Chiesa Cristiana Evangelica, in the Viale Curtatone, a few steps from the Pensione Chiusarelli.

The City of Siena itself cannot be satisfactorily seen in less than a week; and, even so, only by dint of very hard work. If it is desired to visit the various places of interest in the neighbourhood, at least double that time should be allowed.



WORKS CONSULTED

> I shall desire that the learned reader will not conceive any opinion against any part of this... volume, until he shall have read over the whole, and diligently searched out and well considered of the several authorites... which we have cited and set down for warrant and confermation of our opinions.
>
> LORD COKE

The following list, so far from purporting to constitute a complete Bibliography, contains only the more important works actually consulted in the preparation of the historical section of this *Guide.* I have, in fact, been careful to include only such books as are likely to be of use to the passing visitor who wishes to obtain such a general idea of the history of Siena as may enable him to adequately appreciate her treasures of Architecture and of Art.

STATUTES

Il Constituto dei Consoli del Placito del Comune di Siena pubblicato da LODOVICO ZDEKAUER, Siena, Enrico Torrini, 1890.

Il Constituto del Comune di Siena dell' anno 1262, pubblicato sotto gli auspici della facoltà

giuridica di Siena da LODOVICO ZDEKAUER, Milano, Ulrico Hoepli, 1897.

[NOTE. This work contains only the first three *Distinctions* and a portion of the fourth. The remainder of the *Constituto* up to *Dist.* V. *Rubric* 248 is published by Professor ZDEKAUER in the " Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria " vols. I-III (1894-6) under the title of *Il frammento degli ultimi due libri del più antico Constituto senese*; while in volume V. of the same periodical (pages 211-228) U. G. MONDOLFO has published *L' ultima parte del Constituto Senese del 1262 ricostruita dalla Riforma successiva*].

Statuti Criminali del foro ecclesiastico di Siena (sec. XIII-XIV) pubblicati da L. ZDEKAUER nel "Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria", Vol. VII (1900).

Ordinamenti Militari Senesi del 1307, pubblicati da E. CASANOVA nell' " Archivio Storico Italiano ". Dispensa 3.ª del 1899.

Statuti Senesi, Bologna, G. Romagnoli, 1863-1877.

Volume I. (per cura di FILIPPO-LUIGI POLIDORI) *Statuto del Comune di Montagutolo — Statuto dell' Arte dei Carnajuoli di Siena — Statuto dell' Arte della Lana.*

Volume II. (per cura di LUCIANO BANCHI) *Statuto della Società del Padule d' Orgia — Statuto dell' Arte della Lana di Radicondoli — Statuto dell' Arte dei Chiavari di Siena — Statuto dell' Arte de' Cuoiai e Calzolai di Siena.*

Volume III. (per cura di LUCIANO BANCHI) *Statuto dello Spedale di Siena.*

La sesta Distintione del Costoduto del Comune di Siena dans " Le Statut des neuf Gouverneurs et Défenseurs de la Commune de Sienne " par JULIEN LUCHAIRE. Extrait des *Mélanges d'Archéologie e d' Histoire* publiés par l'École française de Rome. T. XXI (Rome, Imprimerie de la Paix de Philippe Cuggiani, 1901).



Provvedimenti economici della Repubblica di Siena nel 1382, per cura di A. LISINI, Siena, Enrico Torrini, 1895.

Statuti delle Arti per cura di G. MILANESI nei *Documenti per la Storia dell' Arte Senese* (Siena, O. Porri, 1854) vol. I pag. 1-135.

DOCUMENTS

Besides the numerous documents which have been printed from time to time in the *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria,* in the *Miscellanea Storica Senese,* in the *Documenti per la Storia dell' Arte Senese* of G. MILANESI, in the *Nuovi Documenti* of BORGHESI and BANCHI, and in the notes and appendices of many of the works hereinafter cited, the student should consult the *Codice della Città d' Orvieto* by L. FUMI, and the *Documenti dell' Antica Costituzione del Comune di Firenze* by P. SANTINI, being volumes VIII and X of the " Documenti di Storia Italiana " published by the Royal Deputation for the Provinces of Tuscany and Umbria. They contain many of the treaties and conventions entered into between Siena and Orvieto and Siena and Florence.

In volume IX of the same series, the celebrated *Libro di Montaperti* was edited by C. PAOLI. It contains the original registers of the Florentine army which was destroyed in 1260.

It may be noticed that in volume V of the *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria,* A. LISINI has

published an Inventory of all the documents contained in the five *Instrumentarii* of the Republic, known as the *Caleffo Vecchio,* the *Caleffo dell'Assunta,* the *Caleffo nero,* the *Caleffo rosso* and the *Caleffetto.*

It is probably superfluous to remark that the *Antiquitates* of MURATORI contain documents relative to Siena.

CHRONICLES, DIARIES, &c.

MURATORI, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores.*

Vol. XV. *Cronica Sanese (Andrea Dei: Agnolo di Tura; Nero di Donati).*

Vol. XX. *Historia Senensis.*

Vol. XXIII. *Cronica Sanese di Allegretto Allegretti.*

Frammento di una Cronachetta Senese d'Anonimo del Secolo XIV per cura di N. MENGOZZI ed A. LISINI, Siena, Tip. Lazzeri, 1893.

La cronaca di Bindino da Travale (1315-1416) per cura di V. LUSINI, Siena, Tip. S. Bernardino, 1900.

Due Cronache sulla sconfitta di Montaperto, pubblicate per cura di GIUSEPPE PORRI nella " Miscellanea Storica Sanese ", Siena 1844, presso Onorato Porri.

Carlo Quinto in Siena nell'Aprile del 1536, relazione di un contemporaneo, pubblicata per cura di PIETRO VIGO, Bologna, G. Romagnoli, 1884.

Il Campo Imperiale sotto Montalcino nel MDLIII narrazione storica di Anonimo contemporaneo, pubblicata da L. BANCHI ed A. LISINI, Siena, Gati, 1885.



Diario delle Cose avvenute in Siena dai 20 luglio 1550 ai 28 giugno 1555 scritto da ALESSANDRO SOZZINI.

[This *Diario* is published in vol. II of the *Archivio Storico Italiano* (1842). It contains other narratives and documents relative to the fall of the Republic].

Relazione della Guerra di Siena di Don Antonio di Montalvo tradotta dallo Spagnolo da Don Garzia di Montalvo suo figlio, Torino, Tip. V. Vercellino, 1863.

Comentarii di Stato e di Guerra del Sig. BIAGIO DI MONLUC, *mariscial lo di Francia, nuovamente tradotti dalla Lingua Francese nell'Italiana per D. Giulio Ferrari Cremonese,* In Cremona, per Marc' Antonio Belpieri, MDCXXVIII.

HISTORIES

Il primo libro delle Istorie Sanesi di MARCANTONIO BELLARMATI, pubblicato per cura di G. PORRI nella " Miscellanea Storica Sanese ", Siena O. Porri, 1844.

MALAVOLTI, ORLANDO, *Historia de' fatti e guerre de' Sanesi,* In Venetia, 1599.

TOMMASI, GIUGURTA, *Historie di Siena,* In Venetia 1626.

PECCI, GIO. ANTONIO, *Storia del Vescovado della Città di Siena,* Lucca, 1748.

— *Memorie storico-critiche della Città di Siena* (4 vol.) Siena, A. Bindi, 1755-1760.

BUONSIGNORI, V. *Storia della Repubblica di Siena esposta in compendio,* Siena, 1856.

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Diario Sanese opera di GIROLAMO GIGLI *in cui si veggono alla giornata tutti gli avvenimenti più ragguardevoli spettanti sì allo spirituale sì al temporale della Città e Stato di Siena, con la notizia di molte Nobili Famiglie di Essa delle quali è caduto in acconcio il parlarne* (seconda edizione) Siena, Tip. dell' Ancora, 1854.

Dizionario geografico fisico storico della Toscana contenente la descrizione di tutti i luoghi del Granducato &c. compilato da EMANUELE REPETTI, Firenze, 1833-1846.

Siena e il suo territorio. Siena, L. Lazzeri, 1862.

Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria vol. I-IX. (1894-1902).

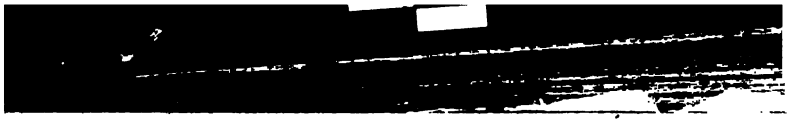
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G. RONDONI, *Tradizioni popolari e leggende di un Comune medioevale e del suo contado,* Firenze, Rassegna Nazionale, 1880.

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P. ROSSI, *Le Origini di Siena* — I. *Siena avanti il Dominio Romano.* II. *Siena Colonia Romana*



(Conferenze tenute nella R. Accad. de' Rozzi per cura della Commissione Senese di Storia Patria, il 16 marzo 1895 ed il 3 aprile 1897) Siena, Lazzeri.

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— *La Vita Pubblica dei Senesi nel Dugento,* Siena, Lazzeri, 1897.

— *Sulle Origini dello Studio Senese,* Siena, C. Nava, 1893.

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L. BANCHI, *Gli Ordinamenti Economici dei Comuni Toscani nel medio evo e segnatamente del Comune di Siena* Parte prima, *La Lira o l'Estimo* in " Atti della R. Accad. dei Fisiocritici di Siena ", Serie III vol. II, Siena, Tip. dell'Ancora, 1879.

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BERLINGHIERI, *Notizie degli Aldobrandeschi,* Siena, O. Porri, 1842.

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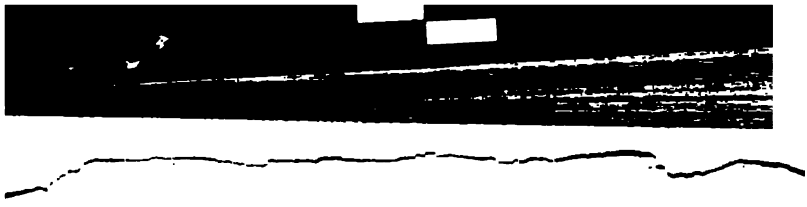
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G. ARIAS, *La Compagnia Bancaria dei Bonsignori,* in *Studi e Documenti di Storia del Diritto,* Firenze, Successori Le Monnier, 1901 (1).

(1) Since the statements of Dott. ARIAS are not always to be implicitly relied upon, this work should only be read in connection with E. CASANOVA's valuable review of the same—See the *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria,* Vol. VIII (1901) pp. 46 et seq.



N. MENGOZZI, *Il Monte dei Paschi di Siena e le aziende in esso riunite,* vol. I, Siena, Lazzeri, 1891.

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L. FUMI e A. LISINI, *L'incontro di Federigo III Imperatore con Eleonora di Portogallo, sua novella sposa, e il loro soggiorno in Siena,* Siena, Tip. Lazzeri, 1878.

C. PAOLI, *Del magistrato di Balìa nella Repubblica di Siena, notizie e documenti* in " Atti e memorie della Sezione Letteraria di Storia Patria della R. Accad. dei Rozzi di Siena ". Nuova Serie (1870-1888) III, 113-159.

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G. RONDONI, *Siena nel secolo XVI* nella " Vita Italiana nel Cinquecento " Milano, Fratelli Treves, 1897.

A. COPPINI, *Piero Strozzi nell' assedio di Siena,* Firenze, G. B. Paravia & C.°, 1902.

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La Vita del Beato Giovanni Colombini da Siena, Fondatore dell' Ordine di Poveri Giesuati, composta per FEO BELCARI, Impresso in Siena per Calisto, Francesco di Simone Bindi. A Dì XXVII. d' Ottobre, M. D. XLI. Ad Istantia di Giovanni di Alessandro Libraio.

Della Vita e degli scritti di Giovanni Colombini da Siena, G. PARDI nel " Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria " vol. II (1895).

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Le lettere di Santa Caterina da Siena, per cura di N. TOMMASÈO, Firenze, Barbèra, 1860.

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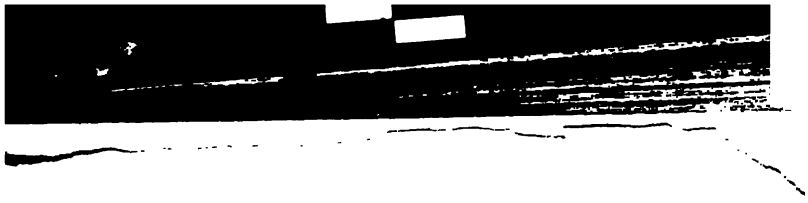
ART

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[NOTE. There are, of course, several valuable articles on artistic subjects in the *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria.*]

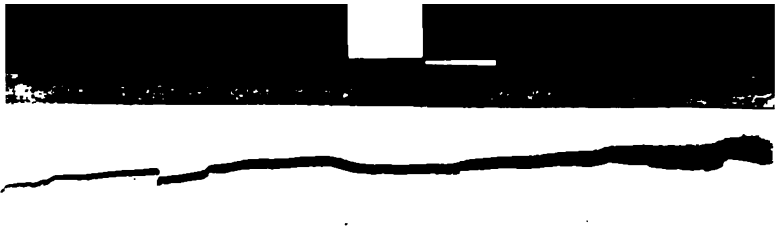


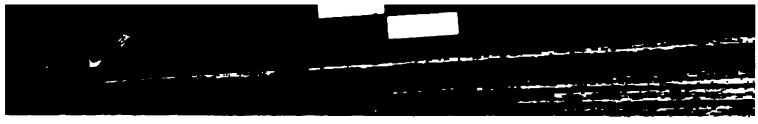
PART I

HISTORICAL

BY

WILLIAM HEYWOOD





HISTORICAL SKETCH

> I hold that nothing is more withering in its effects, and nothing more contemptible, than a contempt for the glories of the past.
>
> J. B. LIGHTFOOT, D. D., *Historical Essays*

> Et pourtant, s'il fallait voir s'abîmer l'Italie avec son passé ou l'Amérique avec son avenir, laquelle laisserait le plus grand vide au cœur de l'humanité? Qu'est-ce que l'Amérique tout entière auprès d'un rayon de cette gloire infinie dont brille en Italie une ville de second ou de troisième ordre, Florence, Pise, Sienne, Perugia? Avant de tenir dans échelle de la grandeur humaine un rang comparable à ces villes-là, New York et Boston ont bien à faire.
>
> ERNEST RENAN, *Etudes d'Histoire Religieuse*

THE origin of Siena, like that of other Italian cities, is lost in a mist of legend. It was probably founded by the Etruscans, and then, falling under Roman rule, became the colony *Saena Julia,* in the reign of Augustus or a little earlier. Few memorials of the Roman era or

of the first centuries of Christianity remain to us, and none at all of the interval preceding the Longobard period. The city as we see it today is wholly mediæval (1).

According to a very ancient legend, which probably has some foundation in fact, Siena was converted to Christianity early in the fourth century by Ansano, a noble Roman, who sealed his faith by martyrdom at Dofana on the Arbia. In 1107, his remains were brought into the city through the Porta Pispini, which thus acquired its alternative name of Porta San Viene, from the cry of the multitude who crowded thither to meet the sacred relics, shouting exultantly, *Il santo viene! Il santo viene!*

We have documentary evidence that during the reign of Rotharis (636-652) the Sienese church was governed by a bishop named Maurus; but all attempts to trace earlier bishops as far back as the 5th century have yielded only vague and contradictory results.

Early in the 8th century the famous controversy between the sees of Arezzo and Siena commenced, and it is to the numerous documents which refer to that protracted struggle that

(1) This paragraph I have taken almost verbatim from Professor PAOLI's *Siena* in the "Encyclopædia Britannica", XXII. 39. The article in question is one of the most perfect examples of condensation combined with lucidity and accuracy with which I am acquainted. I have more than once yielded to the temptation to borrow from it.



we owe nearly all the information which we possess concerning the government of the city during the Longobard period. From these we learn that Siena was not subject to the Dukes of Tuscany, but formed part of the royal patrimony or *fiscus,* and was administered by *Gastaldi,* one of whom, a certain Warnefred—*Magnificus Warnefred Castaldius Senensis Civitatis,*—founded the Abbey of S. Eugenio, which is known today as *il Monistero.* In the quarrel with Arezzo, Gastaldi and citizens alike espoused the cause of their bishops, and the uprising of the whole Sienese people *(Universus Senensis Populus)* to take vengeance on the Aretines (712) seems to point to a nascent sentiment of civic unity.

From the time of Charlemagne, Siena was ruled by Counts of Longobard or Frankish race. Originally their jurisdiction extended from the Val di Chiana to Monticiano, and from Poggibonsi to San Quirico in Osenna, where their contado marched with that of Chiusi. Thus the Val d' Orcia and the Val di Merse were outside the Sienese contado which, though long, was narrow, and, in the direction of the Maremma, scarcely passed the point where the Arbia joins the Ombrone.

About the middle of the 11th century, probably between the years 1053 and 1056, the Emperor Henry III granted and confirmed to John II, Bishop of Siena, many rights and privileges



such as the possession, among other places, of the Castellum Vetus *(Castel Vecchio)*, the oldest portion of the city, jurisdiction over those who dwelt on the episcopal lands, and *judicium per pugnam* together with the right *facere munitiones in omnibus prædictis suæ Ecclesiæ, ubicumque necessarium fuerit,* and that free from interference on the part of any Archbishop, Bishop, Duke, Margrave, Count, Viscount or other person whatsoever.

From this period the Sienese prelates possessed temporal as well as spiritual powers; and, in the course of the next fifty years they succeeded in ousting the Counts from all jurisdiction in the city and district, although these latter still continued to represent the Empire more or less effectually in the towns of the contado.

Thereafter, in the first half of the 12th century, we find the Bishops and the Consuls associated in the government; but, by this time, the power of the former was on the wane; and the fate of Ranieri, who died in exile in 1170, suffices to prove how completely the Sienese emancipated themselves from ecclesiastical rule.

Already, in 1158, the Emperor had shown himself favourably disposed towards the Commune, and had granted *fidelibus nostris Senensibus,* that curious *privilegium* whereby the Counts of Orgia and the Seigniors of Orgiale were forbidden *ædificare aliquod castellum prope civitatem Senam usque ad duodecim miliaria.* In the conflict be-



tween Barbarossa and the Pope, the Sienese espoused the cause of the former and the authority of the Bishop received an irreparable shock. As loyal partisans of the Emperor, the Consuls were determined to compel the clergy to transfer their allegiance to the antipope, and actually went so far as to imprison certain *presbiteros meliores civitatis quos* (says Alexander, in a letter written from Benevento in 1168 or 1169) *nos cariores habemus*. No diplomacy could prevent a collision, and Bishop Ranieri, a stanch adherent of the Pope, replied to the violence of the consuls by pronouncing the anathema of the Church against them and against their principal partisans, and by laying Siena and its suburbs under an interdict. A few weeks or months later he was compelled to flee for his life, never again to return to the city which he had ruled for forty years. The age of a government, half feudal, half theocratic, was over, and the greater, freer and grander Imperial or Ghibelline period commenced.

Originally the government of Siena, like that of every other Italian commune, was essentially aristocratic. Indeed it was, perhaps, more aristocratic than many others in that it was more deeply impregnated with the feudal element. The consuls (of whose rule we have documentary evidence as early as 1125) were all nobles, and

the order of *Magnati* or *Gentiluomini* from which they were chosen was perfectly distinct from the merchants and artisans who formed the main body of the citizens. These latter, up to the middle of the 12th century, had no participation in the government of the state; but unfortunately the nobles were not united, and, in 1147, their dissentions enabled the *popolani,* or lower classes, to enforce their claims to a share in the public offices. The consuls, who had previously been two in number, were increased to three by the admission of a *popolano,* and at the same time the General Council was reconstructed, a gap being thus made in the barriers of class privilege which was destined never to be closed again.

We are unable to fix the precise date of the abolition of the consulship; but the institution of a foreign *potestà* (a form of government which became permanent in 1212) gave a severe blow to the elder magistracy. There was, however, no sudden or violent change, and for some years Consuls and Potestà ruled together, the authority of the latter gradually superseding that of the former, in much the same way as, half a century earlier, the power of the Bishops had passed into the hands of the Consuls. The constitution of the Commune was sufficiently elastic to permit of tentative arrangements, and, as late as 1262, a rubric was still to be found



in the Sienese statutes whereby it was provided that the General Council should decide year by year whether they preferred *habere potestatem sive consules* (1).

The institution of the *potestà forestiero* may probably be regarded as a popular victory, since the nobles were thereby ousted from the highest executive and judicial office in the gift of the Commune ; and, in this connection, it is interesting to note that the year 1212 was marked by civic tumult. Then, as we learn from the chronicles, " St Francis of Assisi came to Siena, and there was great enmity between the People and the nobles, and he caused peace and unity to be made among them ". According to the *Fioretti,* blood had already been shed when the saint intervened to stay the conflict. It would be, perhaps, too hazardous to affirm that these dissentions were due to the desire of the Nobles to reassume their old consular powers, but the coincidence of date is at least curious.

From this period the triumph of the democracy was merely a question of time. Already, in 1209, if we may credit Andrea Dei, were formed the *Compagnie per la Città delle Contrade,*

(1) See *Constit. del C. di S.* Dist. I Rubr. 135—A similar state of affairs seems to have existed in other Communes. Thus in Genoa we find the consuls binding themselves and their successors, but with the condition, " *si consules tunc fuerint in Ianua* " (*Atti soc. lig.* I. p. 325). As to Pisa, see G. Volpe, *Studi sulle Istituzioni Comunali a Pisa,* Pisa, Tip. successori Fratelli Nistri, 1902.



to wit, those *Societates contratorum* or *armorum* upon which, in Siena as in Bologna, the organization of the People rested; while, as early as 1213, we have unimpeachable testimony of the existence of a *Societas Populi Senensis* which was governed by three Rectors. In an instrument of that year, drawn and attested by an imperial notary, these officials acknowledge that they have received from the Potestà *septemcentum libras den. Sen. pro facto penarum turrium*. The importance of this document can hardly be overrated, since it demonstrates that, from the beginning of the 13th century, the People, through their representatives, exercised jurisdiction over the towers; and what this implies we realize when we recall the fact that the towers were the special glory of the aristocracy, and that (as Malavolti tells us) " it was granted to many gentlemen to build them as an evidence of the splendour and nobility of their families ".

In Siena the problem of the factions is a complex one; but, in the 13th century, the strife between them was, as Professor Zdekauer remarks, above all else an economic strife. In the feudal period and, in fact, during the whole of the time during which the nobles dominated the commune, they seem to have enjoyed immunity from taxation, and it was only when the People obtained a share in the government that the *magnati* were at last compelled to bear their part



of the common burden. Moreover, this reform was followed by another of almost equal importance. The first method of direct taxation was a duty or impost *pro foculari* or *per massaritiam,* a kind of family or hearth tax which was collected impartially from rich and poor alike. A *massaritia* apparently consisted of a minimum of three persons. For a while attempts were made to obviate the injustice of this tax by varying the amount exacted according to the wealth and position of those from whom it was collected; but, as time went on, it was perceived that, in order to remedy the evil, a radical change was necessary. The new system, known by the name of the *Lira* or *Estimo,* was based upon the principle of assessment, each individual being taxed according to the declared value of his property. The first *Lira* was " made " in 1198, at about the time when the office of Potestà was introduced (1), and I am disposed to believe that an attentive study of Sienese history enables us to discover a distinct connection between the successive popular victories and the various extensions of the *Lira.*

In the 12th and 13th centuries there was a perpetual influx of new citizens as the feudal

(1) According to Malavolti, the first Potestà was Orlando Malapresa of Lucca, elected in June 1199 (Sienese style); but, as early as 1197, in a submission of Asciano, we find a record of that office as well as of the Consuls.

seigniors of the contado were, one after another, compelled to accept the overlordship of the Commune; and, after the year 1225, it was required of each *civis novus,* as a condition precedent to his admission to the rights and privileges of citizenship, that he should declare the quantity and value of his possessions *(bona sua omnia allibrare).* His name was then duly registered *in uno libro cum tabulis* among the *cives maiores, mediocres* or *minores*—a classification which, if convenient and even necessary to insure equitable taxation, yet served to taint the communal institutions with that worst and most invidious of all forms of class distinction, the aristocracy of mere wealth *(nobilitas divitiarum).*

The new social standard, thus introduced, naturally aroused in the breasts of the rich *popolani* a desire to obtain entrance to the ranks of the *magnati.* The Commune interested itself in the creation of knights, contributing towards their expenses out of the public purse, and, by admission of members of the middle class to an order which had hitherto been open only to the nobles, did much to modify the old fundamental division of *milites* and *populus* (1). Nor was this

(1) The Cavalieri *(milites)* formed a class apart; and, although they were citizens, were governed by no special statute *(breve)* except with regard to their military duties. In their relations to one another they observed the *consuetudines feudorum* as far as the Commune would permit them to do so, and how chary, at first, was the Commune of interfering with those customs we may infer from the fact that for many years the Potestà swore

the worst. By their loans to the Commune, the *Arti* obtained undue influence in the conduct of public affairs. Money became the criterion of worth. The old nobility were ruined by debt, and the commercial spirit so far prevailed that even the vengeance of the Republic began to take a pecuniary form. The *Memoriale delle offese* was the natural complement of the *Libro dei Censi* (1).

A further reform in the government was completed between 1233 and 1240, whereby a new magistracy of 24 citizens was created, which, from the number of its members, received the name of the CONSIGLIO DEI VENTIQUATTRO. Ac-

upon taking office: *Et pro aliquo maleficio, quod dominus fecerit vel comitteret in villanum vel hominum suum, captione vel liberatione, vel quocumque modo ipsum offenderet, eidem domino vel alii [qui] pro eo faceret, nullam penam faciam vel dampnum dabo.* (See *il più antico Constituto Senese*—1262-1270—Distinction V. Rubric. 34). The *Societas militum* possessed its own property; nd its intercourse with the *Societas Populi* was regulated by special agreements which might have enabled them to live side by side without too much friction, had not the *milites*, by holding aloof in haughty contempt of mere merchants and artisans, taught the People to regard themselves as the true representatives of the entire Commune. Thus, even apart from their turbulence and tyranny, the *magnati* had from the first sown the seeds of their own subsequent ruin.

(1) The *Memoriale delle offese (Memorialis offensarum)* was a register wherein were officially entered, as in an open account, all the injuries and offences suffered by the commonwealth at the hands of her neighbours, to the end that they might be repaid in due season. It was published by L. BANCHI in the *Arch. stor. it.*, Series III, vol. XXII. (1875) pages 197-234. —The *Libro dei Censi (Liber Census et reddituum*—the "Book of Tributes,) actually forms part of the same codex as the *Memoriale delle offese*. The introduction to the former has been printed by Professor L. ZDEKAUER, in an appendix to his *Vita pubblica dei Senesi nel dugento.*

cording to the best opinion, it consisted of twelve nobles and twelve *popolani.* Frankly devoted to the imperial cause, this council proclaimed its political creed in its title, *XXIIII.or partis Ghibelline populi civitatis et comitatus senarum;* and the *popolani,* finding it eminently adapted to assist them in the attainment of their ends, endeavoured in every way to augment its powers and to render it independent and supreme.

Under its protection they provided themselves with an official head in the person of the so called *Capitano del Popolo—Capitaneus populi et comunis* (a magistracy which, according to Andrea Dei, was established in 1253), and then created a council of their own, the *Consilium Generale Capitanei et Populi.* Here they enacted laws which, although at first only binding upon members of the *Societas Populi,* were in the course of a few decades imposed upon the Commune. Thus the People became a separate and independent political party with full consciousness of its ultimate aims and of the means by which those aims were to be attained. In 1255 it set up its own bell, on the pretext that the bell of the Commune was not loud enough—*cum campana Comunis non bene audiatur;* and, in a document of the period, we read of *unum sigillum Populi Senarum de octone in quo est quidam Leo desingnatus cum croce in capite.* This was the same lion which, if the legend is to be believed, the



Emperor Otho gave to the People as their device in 1209, and which we still see blazoned about Siena. The book containing " the Ordinances of the People and the names of the men who are included in the Sienese People " was *copertus de corio rubeo, et uno Leone bullarum cum croce bullarum in capite desingnatus;* while, in 1264, a certain Ventura di Gualtieri was condemned to pay a fine of 35 lire because he had painted upon a shield the figure of a lion standing over a prostrate she-wolf whose bleeding face he tore with his claws, an all too obvious emblem of the approaching subjection of the Commune to the democratic element.

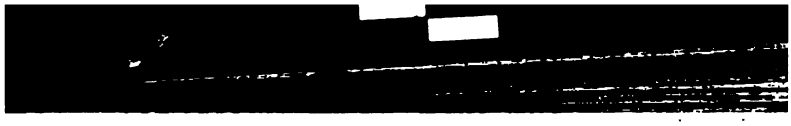
During the rule of the nobles and the mixed rule of the nobles and *popolani,* Siena was engaged in a succession of petty wars with the feudal seigniors of her contado (Scialenghi, Aldobrandeschi, Pannocchieschi, Visconti di Campiglia, &c.) who, one after another, were compelled to make submission to the Commune; while, during the greater part of the 12th and 13th centuries, she was perpetually embroiled with Florence.

Siena was Ghibelline, Florence Guelf; either in the absence of the other might well have dominated all Tuscany; each had need of expansion, and their frontier lines were doubtful.

During the protracted hostilities which this state of things naturally produced, the arms of

Florence were generally successful, and Siena, overmatched and overborne, was content for the most part to stand on the defensive, so that it could be truthfully said of her, after a victory, *inde triumphasti pacem quia semper amasti.*

With the instinct of a people born to great destinies, the Florentines lost no opportunity of thwarting and crippling the rival commune; and the latter, fearing to be hemmed in, in the direction of Montepulciano, and so menaced at once both on the front and on the rear, put forth all her strength to preserve that lofty frontier city, the key of the Val di Chiana, together with the towns of Poggibonsi and of Montalcino. From Poggibonsi she might hope to arrest, at the mouth of her defiles, the advance of the enemy by the way of the Val d' Elsa; while from Montalcino she was able to dominate the Maremma, to guard against invasion from the direction of Montieri and Volterra, and to prevent herself from being cut off from her natural ally, imperial Pisa. But the enmity of Florence was tireless and implacable, and, not content with open hostilities, she intrigued perpetually, fomenting discord and rebellion among the tributary communes and vassals of the contado. As early as 1174, the bloody victory of Asciano enabled her to dictate the harshest terms to her well nigh ruined neighbour, while in 1203, the iniquitous arbitrament of Ogerio pushed her frontiers south-



ward as far as the Staggia, and Siena was forced to build the two strong fortresses of Montereggioni and Querciagrossa to guard her new confines.

With Florence was united Orvieto, and the Sienese territory was horribly devastated, the insolent invaders extending their inroads up to the very gates of the city, and hurling from their mangonels asses " e altra bruttura " over the walls. In 1230, they actually burst through the Porta Camollia and penetrated into the town as far as S. Pietro alla Magione; the Count Alberto di Mangone hung his shield upon the gate in token of victory; and, says the Florentine chronicler, " had they not been pitiful they might have destroyed all Siena with fire and sword ".

Montepulciano and Montalcino were lost, and the Aldobrandeschi divided in their allegiance. It appeared that Siena was doomed to destruction. She was surrounded on every side and clutched, as it were, in the claws of her relentless enemy, at last, it seemed, secure of her prey. But the indomitable Ghibelline city was not dismayed. She turned in the hour of her need to the blond and beautiful knight Manfred (1), and, animated by the most ardent courage, gathered all her forces for the final struggle. The great

(1) Biondo era e bello, e di gentile aspetto.
Purgatorio III. 107.



day of Montaperto (4. Sept. 1260) saw the haughty Florence humbled in the dust and her ancient people " broken and brought to naught ". The flower of her army perished on the field of battle or were led captive by the victors; while so great was the consternation of the fugitives that they abandoned all hope of further resistance and voluntarily exiled themselves from their native city.

For the moment the Guelf cause seemed lost, and Siena was supreme in Tuscany. Yet, as the event proved, she had conquered little more than the right to live, for scarcely, after more than a century of conflict, had she planted her heel upon the neck of her enemy, than the wheel of Fortune spun round, and the death of Manfred changed the whole aspect of affairs. The high hopes of the victors were buried with their suzerain beneath the *grave mora* at the bridge-head of Benevento; the battle of Colle ruined the Ghibellines; and Siena herself became Guelf.

During the decade which followed the Battle of Montaperto the march of events was rapid. On the 8th September Montalcino submitted and humbly sued for pardon; on the 13th the Guelfs fled from Florence, and on the 16th the Count Giordano, the vicar of king Manfred, together with the Count Guido Novello and the Ghibel-



line *fuorusciti,* entered the city. In December Pistoia made her peace with the victors; the following July Montepulciano surrendered and received a Sienese Potestà; only Arezzo and Lucca remained faithful to the Guelf cause; and of these the former was compelled to yield in 1262, the latter in 1264. With the accession of Lucca to the Ghibelline league the Florentine exiles lost their last refuge in Tuscany, and fled across the Apennines to Bologna, where, says Villani, " they abode in much discomfort and penury ".

Thus the Ghibelline arms were everywhere successful when the landing of Charles of Anjou at the mouth of the Tiber (May 1265) and the decisive victory of Benevento (26 February 1266) revivified, in a moment, the apparently moribund Guelf party. In November, the always cowardly Count Guido Novello (1) fled from Florence, which was thenceforth lost to the Ghibellines; and, in the following year, Lucca, Pistoia, Volterra, Prato, San Gimignano and Colle di Val d' Elsa joined the Guelf league or *taglia* under the command of Philip de Montfort, whom Charles had sent to Tuscany with 800 French men-at-arms. Pisa and Siena alone remained Ghibelline, and

(1) I am not, I trust, unjustly blackening the memory of this prudent gentleman. We shall see him again spurring hard out of the rout of Colle; while ten years later, at the Battle of Campaldino, it is recorded in the chronicle of Dino Compagni that " *il Conte Guido non aspettò il fine, ma sanza dare colpo di spada si partì* ".

all their hopes were centred on the youthful Corradino whom they earnestly besought to come to their assistance. Nor did they plead to deaf ears. In October 1267 he arrived at Verona with 3000 men-at-arms and a considerable body of footsoldiers; in January, 1268, he entered Pavia; in April he was at Pisa, and thence he advanced to Siena, there to be welcomed with the wildest enthusiasm. Poggibonsi flung off the Florentine yoke, and other towns prepared to follow her example; five hundred French men-at-arms fell into an ambush at Ponte a Valle, and such of them as were not cut to pieces were led captive to Siena; while to the southward the newly acquired kingdom of the Angevin blazed out into rebellion.

But the exultation of the Ghibellines was soon to be turned to mourning by the fatal day of Tagliacozzo, and by the tragic end of Corradino, two months later, on the Piazza del Mercato at Naples (29 Oct. 1268). For more than a year Siena remained faithful to a lost cause, and carried on a well nigh hopeless struggle against overwhelming odds. One after another the towns and castles of her contado fell into the hands of the Guelf exiles, who made their head-quarters at Colle di Val d'Elsa, and soon became so bold that they pushed their incursions even to the walls of the city.

Such a state of things was intolerable, and,



on the 8th June 1269, the Sienese marched out of the Porta Camollia under the command of Provenzano Salvani (1). They were reinforced by some Pisan levies, and by the Count Guido Novello with a body of Florentine Ghibellines and German men-at-arms who had escaped from the rout of Tagliacozzo. In all, the army consisted of 1400 cavalry and 8000 footsoldiers.

The allies drew near to Colle on its eastern side and pitched their camp in the neighbourhood of the Badia a Spugna, which is situated on the left bank of the Elsa and quite close to Collebasso.

The news of their advance reached Florence on the night of the 9th June, and to such good purpose did the vicar of Charles of Anjou bestir himself that he was able to set out the next morning with 800 men-at-arms, leaving orders for the infantry to follow with all possible speed. The road was long and hilly, but he reached Colle the same evening. The Sienese do not appear to have made any attempt to intercept him; but, on the morning of the 11th they resolved to march round the western end of the town and to take up a stronger position on the level ground about S. Andrea delle Grazie, some half a mile to the south of Colle-alto; and this movement they commenced with the utmost

(1) Mentioned by Dante in *Purgatorio* XI.



possible confidence, doubtless believing that the enemy were as yet too few to venture an attack. Unfortunately the Guelfs were captained by an experienced soldier who knew how to seize his opportunities, and, while the Sienese were straggling through the Valle Buona, secure in their superior numbers, he suddenly sallied forth and, charging over the bridge which spans the Elsa below the Badia a Spugna, fell upon their left flank. The result justified his generalship and they were routed with great slaughter. Comparatively few prisoners were taken, for the memory of Montaperto made the victors pitiless. Among the dead was Provenzano Salvani. He was, it would seem, taken prisoner and killed in cold blood by Misser Cavolino Tolomei who thus revenged an ancient grudge. The head of the great Ghibelline was cut off and stuck upon the shaft of a spear and carried through the streets of Colle. As usual, the Count Guido Novello saved himself by flight.

Exulting in the triumph of his faction, a Lucchese chronicler writes: *Devicti sunt Senenses, et maxima strages de eis est facta, et multi sunt ibidem in bello mortui, multique capti, sed praecipue Senenses et Theutonici, qui sic sunt ex tunc in Thuscia extirpati, quod usque ad tempora praesentia nulla de ipsis fit mentio, quantum ad bella.*

This was the battle whereon Sapìa looked, praying for the defeat of her fellow citizens, and

rejoicing in their flight with a joy so great and satisfying that, while yet the victors hacked among the fugitives, she cried aloud to the Almighty, " *Omai più non ti temo*—Henceforth, O God, I fear thee not " (1).

For a few months longer Siena continued to resist. In October military operations were stopped by torrential rains and she obtained a short breathing space which she utilized to prepare for a seige, to obtain supplies and to wall up many of the gates (2). But the death of Provenzano Salvani had deprived the People and the Ghibellines of the only leader who could have steered the ship of state through such tempestuous seas. *Ipse rector, ipse gubernator,* he had been the heart and soul of the *Parte Ghibellina,* in the days of Siena's greatest triumphs (3), with

(1) *Purgatorio* XIII.

(2) See page 4 *supra.*

(3) " Provenzano Salvani... che fu l'anima nella lotta del Popolo contro i Signori, e dei XXIIII, per la parte del Popolo "—L. ZDEKAUER, *La Vita Pubblica dei Senesi nel Dugento,* pag. 78.

In this connection it is interesting to note that, in one of the most ancient of Italian political poems, attributed by Celso Cittadini to the year 1262, and written by a Sienese, the following words are put into the mouth of the great Ghibelline. He is speaking of Siena. His interlocutor, Rugieri, is alarmed at the departure of the Guelfs to Radicofani (Dec. 1261), and fearful of the enmity of the Pope.

Rugieri, or ti konforta
Ed abi giuoko et riso
Gieso Cristo la tiene et porta,
Da lliei non è diviso;
Lo franko popolo accieso
La porrà in altura,
Siena, ciò m' è viso,
Città di natura!

him " Toscana sonò tutta ", and he left no successor.

In the spring the Guelfs again took the field, and advanced to *il Monistero,* a scant mile from the walls. Thence they dictated terms of peace. On the 15th August the Ghibellines of Florence left Siena, even as six short years before the Florentine Guelfs had departed from Lucca. The Government was reformed by the addition of twelve *boni homines* to the Twenty-four, the new magistracy being called the *Triginta sex Gubernatores Civitatis et Comunis Senensis,* and for it both *popolari* and *nobili* were eligible.

What followed is thus succinctly recorded by Andrea Dei: " The Guelfs did not keep the peace; and the Ghibellines departed from Siena ". And, in fact, that is about all that any of the chroniclers tell us. The result was war in the contado and disquiet in the city. In 1270 many Ghibelline palaces were destroyed. The Potestà swore *destruere et destrui facere radicibus palatium et turrim et Casamentum filiorum Salvani et filiorum Provenzani.* Charles of Anjou wrote to urge on the work of destruction. In 1273 he visited Siena; and, in the same year, the papal interdict

Christ and the Free People. What better champions could Siena have?—See the *Rime antiche senesi trovate da E. Molteni e illustrate da V. de Bartholomæis* published by the " Società Filologica Romana " (Roma, presso la Società, 1902) page 28.



was removed amid great public rejoicings. Siena had been excommunicated since 1260.

Thus did the imperial city forget her ancient faith to follow after strange gods; and it has been said with some truth that this change "was little less than suicide; she might lead the Ghibellines, but in the Guelfic party she could only sit below the salt".

It is a fascinating subject for conjecture what the result would have been had Siena remained faithful. She might have joined hands with the great Ghibelline Bishop, Guglielmo degli Ubertini, and Campaldino might have had another issue. She and Arezzo might have done much to save Pisa from ruin, and the hegemony of Florence might have been delayed. That it could have been altogether averted is hardly possible. Wealth, then as now, formed the sinews of war and the commercial supremacy of Florence was already well nigh assured. To say nothing of the disabilities under which, through lack of water, the Arte della Lana laboured in Siena, the Sienese were already being rapidly surpassed in every branch of mercantile enterprise. In the first half of the century they had, it is true, held the foremost place, and the *Grande Tavola,* or *Tabula de Sena,* was still a name to conjure with both in Italy and beyond the Alps; but a large part of their success had been due to the fact that they had possessed an almost



complete monopoly of the papal business, and as *campsores domini pp.* had enjoyed unprecedented advantages. These they lost by their loyalty to Manfred; and thus, in a sense, the victory of Montaperto may be said to have ruined Siena. The Pope not only excommunicated her, but transferred much of his business to the Florentine Guelfs; and before many years were over Siena was doomed to see herself outstripped by her ancient rival. Under these circumstances, alliance with Florence and reconciliation with the Pope doubtless recommended itself strongly to the Sienese merchants; and that alliance and reconciliation could only be obtained by a change of political faith.

This change, as I have shown, took place in 1270, and it was followed, in 1277, by a great popular revolution which definitely started the Commune upon its dismal journey towards the depths of democracy.

Although the nobles had been compelled to acquiesce in a diminished authority, and to see the representatives of the People associated with them in the supreme offices of the state, their acceptance of the new regime had never been loyal, and they only awaited a favourable opportunity to recover the ground which they had lost. Such an opportunity appeared to be offered them in the events which followed the battle of

Colle. The Twenty-four had fallen, and the popular cause had sustained a heavy blow in the death of Provenzano Salvani. Charles of Anjou was no friend of the People, and openly favoured the great Guelf houses. It was a period full of tumult and uncertainty. Might not the old consular families turn the Guelf victory to their own advantage and make themselves predominant in the party? At first it seemed that fortune favoured their designs and, anticipating an easy triumph, they refused to obey the laws and conducted themselves with the utmost violence. Their palaces in the city and their castles in the contado were filled with assassins and bravoes; they outraged and insulted the *popolani;* they set the officers of justice at defiance, and at last, in August 1276, even ventured to attack the chief executive officer of the Commune.

It was evening, and the household of the Potestà were passing through the Strada di Camollia, whither they had come to arrest certain retainers of the Salimbeni. These refused to surrender and, after a short scuffle, took refuge in the palace of their patron (now the *Monte de' Paschi).* Hearing the uproar misser Notto Salimbeni rushed out with more of his followers, and, in the fight which ensued, was wounded in the leg. On the following day, when the household of the Potestà again passed that way, they were assailed by the creatures of the Salim-

beni, and a kinsman of the Potestà was slain. A great part of the city rose in arms, but misser Notto, notwithstanding his wound, put himself at the head of his retainers and went to the palace of the Ugurgieri, where the Potestà lodged, to burn it with fire and him therein. The Forteguerri and the Incontri interposed to keep the peace, but the Salimbeni were joined by other nobles, and, although the People rose in defence of the Potestà, he was besieged for two days, until the Forteguerri and "the *Grandi* and *Popolo* of the Terzo di Città" succeded in conducting him in safety to the Palazzo degli Alessi, where he dwelt for the remainder of his term of office. It seems, however, that he was unable to bring the Salimbeni to justice (1).

(1) I apprehend that in these events we may find an example of that more or less open antagonism which, throughout the 13th and 14th centuries, existed between the three *Terzi* of the city—an antagonism which the student of Sienese history can by no means afford to forget, since in it we find an explanation of many facts which would otherwise prove incomprehensible.

Originally Siena seems to have consisted of three separate fortresses. To the north was that of *Camollia;* to the south-west was *Castel Vecchio* or (as it is called in at least one document of the 11th century) *Castel Senio;* and to the south-east the *Castello di Val di Montone.* And herein, if we may credit the old writers, we discover the reason why, in Latin, Siena was spoken of in the plural number, *Senae, Senarum.*

According to the legend of the Origin of the City, the rivalry between these fortresses began at a very early date; and it is said that the Arms of the Commune, the party-coloured shield known as the *Balzana,* owes its origin to a portent which occurred at their first reconciliation. Peace had been made and the magistrates were sacrificing to Apollo and to Diana in what is now the Piazza del Campo, when from the one altar arose a very black smoke, from the other a smoke of singular whiteness, and, instead of mingling, the two columns floated away side by side, the white one upper-



As a result of these disorders it was determined to exclude the nobles from the Supreme Magistracy for all time, and in the Consiglio Generale della Campana of 28 May 1277, it was resolved that the THIRTY-SIX should be elected *de bonis et legalibus mercatoribus et amatoribus partis guelfe,* and that among their number should not be included *aliquis de casatis.*

This exclusion of the nobles from the government and from the general body of the citizens had the effect of converting them from

most. This the citizens accepted as a message from the gods, and accordingly they assumed the *Balzana* as the device of the now united city.

The three *Terzi,* however, remained in many respects separate communities. Each had its own organization, civil, military and economic. The number of the Supreme Magistracy of the Republic, from the time of the consuls onwards, will be found to be nearly always a multiple of three—24, 36, 15, 9, 18 and so forth—and it was, as a rule, composed of an equal number of citizens taken from each *Terzo;* while, in the *Constituto del Comune* of 1262, it was provided that "si contigerit potestatem Senensem stetisse vel habitasse in uno terçerio civitatis per annum, non debeat eius successor in eodem terçerio habitare, nisi duobus annis mediantibus", (I. 211). And all this was necessary because the interests of the three *Terzi* were often opposed, although, as a rule, in all cases of discord, the *Terzi* of Camollia and of San Martino were leagued together against that of the City. Even in their games of *Pugna* and of *Elmora* this alliance was maintained. (See chap. III of my *Our Lady of August and the Palio of Siena).*

And now, having prefaced thus much concerning the *Terzi,* we may consider the tumults of 1276 in reference to those facts.

The Salimbeni, as we have seen, resided in the *Terzo di Camollia.* The palace of the Ugurgieri was in the *Terzo di San Martino,* in an angle of the city behind the church of S. Vigilio. The Incontri and the Alessi belonged to the *Terzo di Città,* and those who came to the rescue of the Potestà were, as Andrea Dei informs us *(Cronaca Sanese* in MURATORI *ad annum)* "e Grandi e'l Popolo del Terzo di Città". Thus we see that the *Terzo di San Martino* and the *Terzo di Camollia* were opposed to the *Terzo di Città* which alone defended the Potestà.

thenceforward into a separate caste, an aggregation of *casate* united together by the same interests, traditions, prejudices and offences. Thus was born the first of those political and social divisions which, in Siena, were afterwards called *Monti;* the old consular families who were now excluded from office forming, together with their descendants, the *Ordine or monte dei Gentiluomini* (1).

And here it is important to note (what I shall have occasion to refer to at greater length hereafter) that the People—*la meza gente,* the middle class—which had thus made itself master of the state, was by no means synonymous with the proletariat, " the mutable rank-scented many " of Shakespeare's Coriolanus. It did not even include the smaller tradesmen. The ruling oligarchy up to the middle of the 14th century was, in fact, as exclusive of the masses as it was of the nobles. Under its regime the *Arte dei Mercanti* properly so called, that is to say the

(1) The *casate* excluded from the Government by the resolution of 1277 were the following :—

Terzo di Città—Baroncelli, Bostoli, Incontrati, Forteguerri and Antolini, Mazenghi, Mainetti, Marescotti, Incontri, Golli, Alessi, Martinelli, Codennacci, Montecchiesi, Scotti, Gregori, Saracini.

Terzo di S. Martino—Mignanelli, Trombetti, Sansedoni and Anconitani, Gherardini and Gottoli, Ugurgeri, Maconi and Abrami, Renaldini, Piccolomini, Ragnoni, Guastelloni, Ulivieri, Arzocchi, Pagliaresi, Cauli.

Terzo di Camollia—Tolomei, Gallerani, Barbotti, Accarigi, Albizi, Provenzani and Salvani, Buonsignori, Ressi, Salimbeni, Viviani and Saracini, Ponzi, Montanini, Bulgarini, Malavolti, Rustichetti, Paganucci, Selvolesi, Gazzanetti, Paparoni Bandinelli and Cerretani, Senali and Ubertini.

bankers and the great importers and exporters, together with the *Arte della Lana,* retained all or almost all the power in their own hands. In a word, it was an aristocracy of wealth, a government of merchant princes—*boni et legales mercatores* (1).

In the year 1280 there were fresh tumults. The law excluding the nobles from the supreme magistracy was confirmed, and its numbers were reduced from 36 to 15, with the title of the *Quindici Governatori e Difensori della Repubblica di Siena.*

The first care of the new magistracy was to conclude peace with the rebels, in which they were assisted by the Cardinal Legate, and on the 29th September many of the nobles gave their adherence to the new regime. Moreover, it was decreed that the names Guelf and Ghibel-

(1) In view of the inaccurate statements recently made by two lady writers with regard to the character of this magistracy, I am tempted to emphasize the above remarks by the following quotation from Mr. J. A. Symonds' *Age of the Despots* (edition of 1880, pages 50-51). He says: "Interpreting the past by the present, and importing the connotation gained by the word *people* in the revolutions of the last two centuries, students are apt to assume that the *Popolo* of the Italian burghs included the whole population. In reality it was at first a close aristocracy of influential families, to whom the authority of the superseded Counts was transferred in commission, and who held it by hereditary right (Compare the *pura cittadinanza* of Cacciaguida—*Paradiso* XVI); and the technical terms *primo popolo, secondo popolo, popolo grasso, popolo minuto,* frequently recurring in the records of the Republics, indicate several stages in the progress from oligarchy to democracy. The *Commune* included the *Popolo* but was distinct from it".

line should be no more used in the Sienese dominion, and that every book, writing and ordinance which treated of those parties and of their conservation should be burned. The office of the Captain of the Party Guelf was abolished, and it was forbidden, under heavy penalties, even to speak of Guelfs or Ghibellines or their equivalents.

An effort was also made to put an end to private feuds. The Tolomei were compelled to make peace with the Salvani, with the Arzocchi and with the Ponzi; the Incontri, the Piccolomini and the Forteguerri were in like manner reconciled with one another, while marriages were arranged between the families which had been at enmity.

In the last week in October the Ghibellines returned to the city. Some of the FIFTEEN went forth to meet them as far as Buonconvento, and the others, with all the Orders of the City, awaited them outside the gates, embracing them and welcoming them with so much evident joy " that the entire people, and they likewise who returned, wept tenderly for great contentment of heart ".

Thus did the ruling oligarchy endeavour to establish itself more firmly by the pacification of intestine discords. But it was too much to hope that hatreds which had been handed down from father to son for three generations could be extinguished by a simple kiss of peace, or



that men who had been taught the sacred duty of revenge even at their mothers knees, should be able to live in constant contact with former enemies without remembering the old wrongs which cried aloud for vengeance. With what heart could a Salvani have joined hands with a Tolomei when he recalled the cruel work of 1269, and beheld the spot where once the lordly palaces of his house had stood, still covered with débris or lying vacant? Moreover, small as was in any case the prospect of a permanent pacification, the efforts of the new magistracy were rendered wholly nugatory by the unfortunate choice of Misser Matteo Rosso degli Orsini as Potestà. A bitter and bigoted Guelf, he assumed office in January 1281, and the evident disfavour which he showed to the Ghibellines soon fanned the smouldering embers of discontent into a blaze. So great was the fear of tumult that it was resolved to banish certain of the more unquiet spirits. Among the exiles was Misser Niccolò Buonsignori who, only three years earlier, had, together with his brothers, received from the Magistrates of the Commune the honour of knighthood, at the festival of Our Lady of Mid-August. A member of the great banking house which bore the name of his family (1), and which was then at the height of its

(1) The *Compagnia dei Buonsignori*, also known as *la grand table, magna tabula*, or simply *tabula de Sena*.—See C. PAOLI, *Siena alle Fiere di Sciampagna*, pages 23-24.

influence and renown, he was ill disposed to endure such an injury with patience. Filled with indignation he departed for Roccastrada, and there plotted against the government, hoping, with the aid of the *popolo minuto* and of such of the Ghibellines as had remained in Siena, to re-establish the nobles in office and to overthrow the Guelfs.

Niccolò took into his counsel the Count of Santa Fiora and many of the barons of the Maremma, and having gathered a force of 160 cavalry and a considerable body of foot soldiers, moved from Roccastrada, and reached Siena on the night of 13th July. They found the Porta all' Arco barred, but succeeded in forcing a way through that of the Castellaccia, and afterwards through the other gate of the Terzo di Città, whence they marched down the Casato and occupied the Campo, fortifying themselves in the palaces of the Belmonti towards San Martino. Then they raised the cry of "Death to the Guelfs!" and awaited an insurrection of the populace in their favour. They were, however, disappointed, since, besides the old Ghibelline families, only about 200 of the citizens joined them. Meanwhile the Potestà and the Signori Quindici had rung the great bell of the Commune, and the military companies of all the three Terzi were hastening to their aid. Many of the rebels were slain, many taken prisoners, while

the remainder were compelled to flee for their lives. The slaughter was particularly great at the mouth of Malborghetto (now Via Giovanni Duprè); Misser Niccolò with a handful of his followers escaped to Roccastrada, and some few of those who had occupied the Palazzo de' Belmonti held out till daybreak, when it was stormed by the household of the Potestà. The usual confiscations and destruction of palaces and towers followed. "And there departed from Siena Misser Ruffredi Incontri and all his house, and part of the Forteguerri and of the Ugurgieri and Salvani, and Pagliaresi, and Ragnoni and many other folk".

Foiled in their attempt upon the city, the Ghibellines carried the war into the contado. Campagnatico was surprised and the garrison of Sant' Angelo in Colle cut to pieces. Then, pushing northward along the banks of the Asso and through range after range of tumbling hills, the rebels occupied Rigomagno on the Aretine border. The position was serious in the extreme. From Campagnatico they dominated all the Maremma, and cut off communications with Grosseto, while at Rigomagno they were in touch with Guglielmo degli Ubertini, the Ghibelline Bishop of Arezzo, lord of many castles in the Val d' Ambra, and a tried and valiant warrior. The Quindici, however, were equal to the occasion, the militia of the Terzo di San Martino

were called out, Rigomagno was stormed with great slaughter, and Misser Ranieri Belmonti, the captain of the garrison, was taken prisoner and beheaded as a traitor (1).

In February 1282, Florence, Lucca, Prato, Volterra and Siena entered into an alliance for the common defence, and, though no doubt the hopes of the Ghibellines were raised by the news of the Sicilian Vespers, they were afraid to move; while ere long all eyes were turned toward Pisa, whose fleet had been destroyed in the bloody battle of Meloria (1284), but who was still fighting desperately against overwhelming odds.

Towards the end of October 1285, the Sienese *fuorusciti,* with the aid of the Bishop of Arezzo, made themselves masters of Poggio Santa Cecilia, a strongly fortified castle a few miles to the north-west of Rigomagno. "And (says an old chronicler) they held the place against the Sienese and the Florentines and all Tuscany for fourteen months and eighteen days, until they were compelled to eat rats and to gnaw the leather of their shields; and they col-

(1) As in the Pistoiese, the contado was divided into three districts which corresponded to the division of the city into Terzi. The contado thus represented a circle divided into three vast sectors, each of which contained at its apex the Terzo to which it belonged. Rigomagno was in that part of the contado which corresponded to the Terzo di San Martino; and this, I presume was the reason why the militia of San Martino were called out to attack it.



lected the dew for the thirst which they had... Finally, on the night of Good Friday, being able to endure no longer, they abandoned the castle and issued forth and fled during a great rain; and so they saved themselves alive". Nevertheless, according to Andrea Dei, "many of them were taken as they went forth and were led to Siena. And while they were in the Palace of the Potestà, whither they had been taken to be put to death, the people rose in tumult, crying 'Peace! Peace!' and they began to attack the Palace. Wherefore the Nine who then governed the State *(sic)* were afraid, and they gave them the gonfalon and surrendered unto them the prisoners. Then the people took the prisoners to the Palace of the Bishop who had come to their aid when the tumult commenced. And they were by themselves, and the Guelfs with their followers set upon them in the Campo; and they brake them and discomfited them, the Monday after Easter; and they gat them to the Palace of the Bishop, and drew forth the prisoners and led them into the Campo; and there they cut off the heads of five of the chief among them, and the rest they hanged between the Arbia and the Bozzone; and the number of them was sixty". Poggio Santa Cicilia was razed to the ground.

Two years later the Sienese troops fell into an ambush at the Pieve al Toppo, and lost

"between dead and wounded more than three hundred of the best citizens of Siena (1); " but, in the following year, the Battle of Campaldino finally destroyed the last hopes of the Ghibellines, and Tuscany, with the exception of the half-ruined Pisa, became wholly Guelf. Even the descent of the Emperor Henry VII into Italy could not rekindle burnt out fires; and when he died at Buonconvento in 1313, the old Ghibelline families of Siena, who had peaceably left the city sixteen months earlier at the desire of the government, returned as peaceably. The precaution of their temporary banishment had hardly been necessary.

The merchant Oligarchy was by this time firmly established in power. The solemn reconciliation of the Guelfs and Ghibellines in 1280, futile and short-lived as it had proved, was at any rate a sign of the complete subjection of the nobles. From thenceforth the People was master of the Commune. It took, however, nearly sixteen years to consolidate its authority and to finally settle its form of government (1277-1292). At first, as we have seen, the number of its Supreme Magistracy was THIRTY-SIX and then FIFTEEN. In 1287 these were reduced to NINE. Later on, for a little while (1 Feb., 1290, to

(1) The "*giostre del Toppo*" of Dante. *Inferno* XIII. 121.



31 July, 1291) they were increased to EIGHTEEN; the year following they fell to SIX; and it was only in 1292 that the number of the Governors and Defenders was definitely fixed at NINE. These changes, however, are simply indications of a search for the most workable number, and not of any dissentions among the *boni et legales mercatores* who constituted the ruling class. The THIRTY-SIX, the FIFTEEN, the EIGHTEEN and the SIX were, in fact, only embryonic forms of the NINE; and the NINE—"*Li signori NOVE Governatori e Difenditori del Comune e del Popolo di Siena*" —they remained until the fall of the *Popolo di mezzo*, sixty-three years later.

In May, 1309, the *Consiglio Generale della Campana* ordered that the statute of the Commune should be translated into the vulgar tongue "to the end that poor folk and other persons who know not latin *(gramatica)* may be able to see and copy the same at their will". The translation was to be written "in fair large letters, legible and well formed, on good parchment", and was to be kept in Biccherna. The work was completed in 1310, and the sixth *Distinction* which treats *del officio de li Signori Nove* (1) enables

(1) This *Distinction* has been recently edited by Monsieur J. LUCHAIRE. The text of the statute is, of course, printed in the original Italian, but the introduction (of which I have made considerable use in the following paragraphs) and the notes are in French, a fact which will make that portion of the work accessible to most readers.

I am informed that in the spring the entire Statute will be published, together with an Introduction by Cav. A. LISINI.

us to form a very clear idea of the way in which those merchant oligarchs ruled Siena.

At the head of the Commune were the so called ORDERS OF THE CITY *(Ordini della Città)*, consisting of 1st. the SIGNORI NOVE; 2nd. the CONSULS OF THE CHEVALIERS *(consules militum, consoli de' Cavalieri)*; 3rd. the CONSULS OF THE MERCHANTS *(consoli de' mercanti; consoli della mercanzia)*; and 4th. the FOUR PROVEDITORS OF THE COMMUNE *(Quattro Provveditori)*.

In the hands of these Orders rested the election of the legislative body, the *Consiglio Generale della Campana;* so that they were, in fact, the source of all authority. But their share of power was not equal. The *Provveditori,* who, with their *Camarlingo,* were the administrators, financiers and treasurers of the Commune, were an ancient and responsible magistracy (1), but they were dependent upon the *Nove* and the *Consoli della mercanzia* who appointed them. The *Consoli de' Cavalieri* represented the nobility (2); but it is absurd to suppose that the Nobles, defeated and discriminated against as they were, exercised any real influence in the State. Moreover the *Consoli de' Cavalieri* were not elected by the Nobles, but by the other Orders of the City, so that the title was little more than a derisory one.

(1) As to the *Quattro Provveditori* and the magistracy of *Biccherna*, to which they belonged, see my *Pictorial Chronicle of Siena* pages, 16-28.

(2) See page 28, note 1, *supra*.



The *Nove,* on the other hand, were always mentioned first among the Orders, and were the real Governors, uniting in themselves almost all authority. They were further practically self-elected, since it was the *Nove* who appointed their successors, selecting them exclusively from their own class, according to the rubric of their statute which provides " che li signori Nove..... sieno et essere debiano de mercatanti de la città di Siena, overo de la meza gente ". Besides the *Nove* no one was permitted to take part in this election except the Consuls of the Merchants.

Thus all power, all authority, all the functions of the State were concentrated in the hands of a merchant aristocracy. On this point the Statute of the Nine is convincing. It would be impossible to imagine any more perfect type of a government of capitalists.

The statute provides that the *Signori Nove* " shall have full power over all the affairs of the Commune, and that all which they shall do, resolve or order for the good of the People of Siena shall have the force of law ". From the very earliest times, the outgoing officials of the Commune had been held strictly accountable for their actions while in office (1); but the *Nove,* in spite of the enormous extension of their powers, were not subject to the *sindacamento.* In other

(1) See *A Pictorial Chronicle of Siena,* page 26.

words, they incurred no responsibility for their official acts. Moreover, great precautions were taken to render this inviolable government the uncontaminated organ of the class from which it emanated, and to prevent any possible collusion between it and other social or political divisions of the body politic. Not only were the Nobles *di casato,* the old consular families, excluded from the Magistracy of the Nove, but also knights *(Cavalieri),* judges, notaries and physicians; while *per contra* any citizen who had formed part of the *Nove* was *ipso facto* disqualified from becoming either *Console de' Cavalieri* or *Capitano della Parte Guelfa.* It was determined to set up an impregnable barrier between the two rival classes. Ghibellines, naturally enough, were excluded from the Magistracy. They were excluded also from "any other office in the Commune of Siena"; and by Ghibelline, in this connection, we must understand any person suspected of leanings towards that faction.

On the other hand, the *Nove* were guarded against themselves with almost equal care, and especially against the temptation to seek to perpetuate their power, either in their own hands or in those of their families. The bourgeoisie, at the same time that they established their own class in authority, took care to maintain the most scrupulous equality among its members. The Magistracy of the *Nove* held office for two months

only, and no member of an outgoing Magistracy could be re-elected to serve as his own successor. Two near kinsmen could not be members of the *Nove* at the same time, nor could they succeed one another in office. It was further provided that the Consuls of the Merchants and certain other important officials could not be called to the Supreme Magistracy until six months after they had completed their terms. Nor can we doubt that these precautions were effectual, since during all the time that the merchant oligarchy ruled the State, we have no instance of any of their number attempting to raise himself above his peers. " The Government of the *Nove* was, at one and the same time, the strongest and the least personal it is possible to conceive of ".

For the rest, at this period, both the Potestà and the Captain of the People lost much of their power, while the General Council became a mere mouthpiece of the *Nove* by whose suffrages it had been called into being and whose creature it was.

Clothed with such vast and unfettered authority, it is a startling tribute to the wisdom, righteousness and patriotism of those old merchants that they did not abuse their position more than they did. They were a class of exceptional men, strong to labour and to endure, shrewd, far-sighted and iron-willed, with family traditions

behind them which kept them brave and honest —an aristocracy of wealth, but also an aristocracy of worth, optimates in the best sense.

These were the men whose sires had travelled land and sea; had built palaces in London and purchased cloth in Flanders; had fought the Florentines at Montaperto, and stormed the almost impregnable heights of Campiglia d'Orcia; had visited half the capitals of Europe, and grown very wise and wily in dealing with kings and princes. Their honour, perhaps, was the honour of the ledger and of the counter, their courage rather that of the burgher than of the knight; but that courage, such as it was, sufficed to guard the rights of the Commune, and that honour to keep their hands clean in the administration of public affairs (1).

Under their rule Siena enjoyed a long period of peace and of prosperity; the borders of the state were enlarged until the dominion embraced almost all the modern provinces of Siena and of Grosseto; a friendly alliance was maintained with Florence; trade flourished; the city was embellished with splendid edifices; the Palazzo

(1) For the benefit of those who do not read Italian I may mention that a certain amount of information concerning the Sienese merchants may be obtained from Mr. LEWIS EINSTEIN's *Italian Renaissance in England* (New York, The Macmillan Co. 1902). He devotes an entire chapter to "The Italian Merchant in England".—See also my "*Ensamples*" *of Fra Filippo, a study of mediaeval Siena*, pages 43-47, and the whole of the first section of chapter IV, pages 137-161.

Pubblico was built, and the walls of its lordly chambers were clothed with the masterpieces of Ambrogio Lorenzetti and Simone Martini; the Torre del Mangia (which now that Venice has lost her campanile is incomparably the noblest tower in Italy) sprang, like a flight, into middle air (1); and the enlargement of the cathedral was commenced on such a scale as would have made it one of the grandest, if not the grandest, temple in the world. Nor was learning neglected; the ancient University was embued with new life by the migration thither of Bolognese scholars; while, finally, those charitable institutions which are the pride of modern Siena increased and prospered.

Unfortunately, however, as years rolled by, the ruling oligarchy deteriorated, and became ever less and less mindful of the fact that they were the Governors and Defenders of the whole Commune and the whole People. Unlimited and irresponsible power sapped their energy and their virtue; they grew more and more careless of the public weal, and more and more careful of the privileges and advantages of their own class. Then the great pestilence swept over

(1) "I stood in the piazza and saw the Tower of the Mangia leap like a rocket into the starlit air. After all, that does not say it; you must suppose a perfect silence, through which this exquisite shaft for ever soars. When once you have seen the Mangia, all other towers, obelisks and columns are tame and vulgar and earth-rooted; that seems to quit the ground, to be not a monument but a flight"—W. D. Howells, *Tuscan Cities*.

Italy (1348), and for a time obliterated many of the social landmarks. There was a plethora of money; men were unwilling to labour at their accustomed trades, and, as Agnolo di Tura tells us, "All those who remained alive lived as if they were brethren; and every man was familiar and jested with his neighbour, as though they were kinsmen; and ever they feasted and made merry; for to every each of them it seemed that he had regained the world". Yet, rejoice as might the survivors of that horrible calamity, they were but a pitiful remnant of the hundred thousand souls who had thronged the streets of the city but a year earlier (1). Siena had received a blow from which she never wholly recovered; and the rule of the Nove which had been unwillingly borne even when the Commune was great and prosperous, was now felt to be unendurable. Again and again, nobles, judges, notaries and populace had risen in furious revolt against that intolerant oligarchy, and now, at last, their day of vengeance was at hand.

In 1354, Charles of Luxemburg descended

(1) As I am fully aware the statement of the old writers that in 1348 the population of Siena was 100,000, is generally supposed to be an exaggeration (See *The "Ensamples" of Fra Filippo*, &c., *op. cit.* pages 43 n., 94); but before the reader definitely makes up his mind on this point, I would suggest that the considerations presented by Signor G. SALVEMINI in Cap. II., § 5, of his *Magnati e Popolani in Firenze* (Firenze, Tip. Carnesecchi, 1899), are worthy of some attention.

into Italy to receive the imperial crown; and, at the same time, he took care to distribute privileges and to collect subsidies. On the 18th January, 1355, he reached Pisa, and halted there to receive the homage of the ambassadors of the various Tuscan communes. It was a century of merchants. The heroic struggle between Emperor and Communes was a thing of other times, unknown and incomprehensible to this age of sleek burghers, intent only on the counter and the till. The Communes were satisfied to secure their proper sovereignty by the purchase of imperial confirmations, and to obtain for their supreme magistrates the title and authority of vicars of the Empire; the Emperor thought only of filling his treasury; so many privileges, so many thousands of florins; a simple question of accounts, and the contract was made (1).

In this matter Florentines and Sienese were in full accord, but it seems that the latter, or at any rate the *Nove* on their behalf, overstepped the mark. Alarmed at the ever increasing discontent of the citizens, and wishing to make sure of imperial protection at any cost, they had instructed their orators to swear fealty to Charles, to offer him the obedience of the city, and to submit themselves fully to him, " without reserv-

(1) In the following pages I have made considerable use of the late Professor PAOLI's ' *Monti* ' *o fazioni nella Repubblica di Siena.*

ing any franchise of the ancient liberty of the Commune". This abject surrender of every right greatly displeased the Florentines, who saw in it a grievous peril to Tuscan liberty, and in a moment alienated their sympathies from that government with which they had lived in perfect harmony for so many years. Nor was the action of the *Nove* any better received in Siena, where it was felt that they had shamefully abused their powers. Misser Guccio de' Tolomei, the head of the Sienese embassy, after listening to the representations of the Florentines, was afraid to make so ample a submission without a more explicit mandate. The delay aroused Charles' suspicions, and the *Nove* found that, in their attempt to obtain the imperial favour, they had overreached themselves. The Nobles and the lower classes alike vied with each other in demonstrations of devotion to the Emperor, and while, at first, they had shown themselves anxious to defend the liberty of the Commune against the pusillanimous concessions of the *Nove,* they were now equally zealous in exciting the distrust of the Emperor against that magistracy whose overthrow they so ardently desired.

For the moment, Charles granted the requests of the *Nove,* conceding privileges, the title of Vicars of the Empire, and sending forward his marshal with 150 men-at-arms to their defence. He was resolved as yet to keep up

appearances, although he now not only doubted their good faith, but also suspected their weakness.

In this unpropitious humour he came to Siena, on the 23rd March 1355, to be reverently welcomed by the Magistrates and hailed with the utmost enthusiasm by the Nobles and the masses. With shouts of *Viva l' Imperatore!* mingled ere long the sinister cry of *Muoia li Nove!* On the night of the 24th, many of the chains of the city were cut by the Nobles—those chains which, nearly half a century earlier, the merchant oligarchy had caused to be placed in all the principal streets, to the end that they might be barricaded at a moment's notice against the charge of an iron-clad cavalry. A perpetual token of their subjection to the *Popolo di mezzo,* it was fitting that the Nobles should cut them now, when the government of the *Popolo di mezzo* was tottering to its fall (1). Before morning the gates of the City had been burned, the houses of some of the merchants had been attacked, and the Emperor had not interfered to protect the Magistrates or to maintain order.

(1) These chains were bolted to the walls at a height from the ground of a little more than a yard. Several of the old bolts are still to be seen in Siena, e. g. in the Via Cavour almost opposite the Via di Vallerozzi; in the Via de' Rossi, in the Via di Città, and in the Casato. According to Andrea Dei, " si cominciorono a porre le catene per le vie di Siena nel mese di Giugno 1312 ": and, in 1330, as we learn from the researches of Sig. Cav. A. Lisini, there were nearly 300 of such chains. (See the *Miscellanea storica senese*, vol. IV (1896) pag. 198-201).

By daybreak, all the city was under arms. Headed by the Nobles, the populace rose in furious revolt. The *Nove* were thrust forth from their palace, and they and their adherents were hunted through the city like wild beasts. "And so were they wounded and slain throughout the city in this place and in that; and no man spoke on their behalf; but they that looked thereon shrugged their shoulders. Wherefore all the *Nove,* and their brethren and sons and kinsfolk, fled to hide themselves; and they were all robbed, and there was no man who would receive, or regard, or hearken unto them, neither the religious orders nor other folk..... And many infamous things were spoken against the *Nove;* they were called thieves and traitors,... and he that could say any worse thing of them hesitated not to say it". The Emperor openly aided the insurgents, and, after formally ratifying the deposition of the Magistrates and revoking every privilege which he had granted them, appointed a commission of twenty citizens to reform the State. Then, on the 28th March, he departed for Rome, where, on Easter day the 5th April, he received the imperial crown at the hands of the papal legate.

Thus suddenly and ingloriously fell the government of the *Nove,* and that intelligent and industrious class (which, from the number of its chief magistracy, was called the *Monte dei Nove*



or *de' Noveschi)* was, like the *Monte de' Gentiluomini,* set aside. Ancient hatreds and newborn ambitions had overthrown it, but from the day of its fall the Republic never again enjoyed the same prosperity. New *Monti* sprang into being without, destroying the old ones; the conflict between the various classes, whether political or social, became ever more fierce and more implacable; and nevermore, until she closed in her death-grapple with Spain and with the Medici, was there unity in Siena. Indeed it seemed as if she were seeking to deserve the bitter judgment which Philippe de Comines passed upon her some century and a half later, when he declared that "*la ville est de tout temps en partialité et se gouverne plus follement que ville d' Italie*".

The commission nominated by Charles IV created a magistracy of TWELVE *popolari,* with a consultative college of twelve (others say six) *Gentiluomini.* The number of the new magistracy gave its name to a new faction, consisting of citizens of a lower class than those who had constituted the *Noveschi.* Thus when we speak of the *Dodici* we refer not so much to the number of those who composed the supreme magistracy of the Republic as to the class or *consorteria* from which the members of that magistracy were exclusively drawn. From whatever point of

view we regard them, the *Dodici* were vulgar, incapable and turbulent, Consisting of retail tradesmen, ("*Negotiatores abiecti*" Pius II calls them in his Commentaries) their souls did not soar above their pockets, and they lived and governed in an atmosphere of continual strife.

Almost the earliest use they made of their new authority was to rob the State. Nero di Donati (himself one of the *Monte de' Dodici* and whose father sat in the Supreme magistracy of the *Signori Dodici* in March and April, 1363) records, under the year 1355, that "in June they practised many and great barratries *(fe' molte e grandi barattarie)* in their Office. Wherefore the Potestà of Siena made inquest and process against them; and he took Misser Giovanni dell' Acqua, who had been of the said magistracy, and his guilt being proved, caused him to be beheaded as a forger with the mitre upon his head; and Guccio Pieri and Ser Iacomo, the son of Domenico Ricci, who were likewise members of the magistracy, he proclaimed as outlaws. They could not be arrested, therefore were they outlawed".—And these are the men whom Mrs. Oliphant confounds with the Nobles (1).

(1) *Blackwood's Magazine*, July 1898, page 31—A perusal of the paragraph in question well exemplifies the methods of research adopted by the authoress of *The Makers of Florence*. After slurring over all the earlier history of Siena (presumably as too complex to be mastered without some study), she finds that in the year 1383 *(sic)* there was a Magistracy com-



Truly English writers have given us some curious specimens of Sienese history!

The *Dodici* soon quarrelled with the consultative College, and, in June of the same year (1355), the *Gentiluomini* were compelled to withdraw from the government. The principal characteristic of the new faction was, however, its intense hatred for the *Nove*—the petty envy and dislike of the small shop-keeper for the wholesale merchant. With almost feminine spite, the very name of the *Nove* was erased from the public statutes; but persecute their predecessors as they might, the *Dodici* were quite incapable of emulating their industry and wisdom, or of maintaining the Republic in the same prosperity and greatness as it had heretofore enjoyed.

It is true that the times were perilous, and that the difficulties which confronted the *Dodici* might well have puzzled wiser heads than theirs; but, when all allowances have been made, it is indisputable that they showed themselves supremely incompetent. Numerous dependent towns revolted; the Sienese territory was overrun by Companies of Adventure who had to be bought off with great sums of money; and there were

posed of four *Noveschi*, four *Dodicini* and two *Popolari*. What the first and last are she knows, and of course, in a Commune as essentially feudal as was Siena, there must be an aristocracy as well. The inference, to her mind, is too obvious to require a second thought, and she naïvely informs us that the *Dodici* were the nobles!

long and bitter quarrels with Perugia and with Grosseto. Indeed, during the thirteen years that those miserable tradesmen misruled the State, Siena had little to congratulate herself upon. Her one great success, the rout of the Compania del Cappello near Torrita in the Val di Chiana (1363), was due to Misser Ceccolo degli Orsini of Rome, who was in command of the Sienese levies and who attacked against the orders of the Magistrates; and "he was not confirmed in his office, because he had been commanded not to join battle by reason of the peril which might befal therefrom; and for this he was not re-elected". Nevertheless, the Signoria were not ashamed to make pomp of the victory they had tried their best not to win; and they "caused the said discomfiture to be depicted in their Palace in the Hall of the Arbalists" (1).

In the city matters were even worse than in the contado. The ancient feuds between the great houses, so far from being assuaged, became daily more violent, since the magistrates did not

(1) "La detta sconfitta li Signori Dodici la fero depegnare in Palazzo nella Sala delle Balestre"—*Cronica Sanese* in MURATORI *ad annum*. The Sala delle Balestre is, of course, the same as the Sala del Mappamondo. In the MILANESI *Documents*, I. 28, it is recorded that in 1373 Maestro Luca di Tommè was paid for a picture which he had painted by the order of the Consiglio Generale "to the honour and reverence of St. Paul the Apostle, at the time that the Commune of Siena conquered the *Conpagnia del Cappelluccio*". The Sienese fought to the battle-cry of "Saint Paul".

scruple to foment them with a view to weakening the nobles; and soon the faction of the *Dodici* itself split into two parties. One of these, the most respectable, was called *dei Caneschi,* and attached itself to the Tolomei; the other, *dei Grasselli,* which was headed by the Salimbeni, was turbulent and lawless, and soon absorbed the dregs both of the *Gentiluomini* and of the *Popolani.* On this latter alone were the Government able to depend, and they early realized by how many and great perils they were threatened. The chronicler Nero di Donati thus sums up the position in words which constitute a veritable picture: "*E Signori Dodici di Siena entraro in grande paura dell' aria, e fero molti Barigelli per la Città in ogni Terzo, e con molti fanti, e diero loro grandissima balìa, che di fatto amannajassero chiunque tossisse contra loro, e fero molti ordini e forti chi ricordasse Imperadore, e fero murare le porti*" (1).

The Government of the *Dodici* came to an end in the latter part of the year 1368; and,

(1) "The Signori Dodici entered into great fear of the air, and made many Sheriffs *(Bargelli)* through the City in every Terzo, with many soldiers (under them); and gave them passing great authority to behead whosoever should cough against them, and they issued many and strict orders against whosoever should bring to remembrance the Emperor, and they caused the gates to be walled up".—The phrase *chi ricordasse Imperadore* is by no means easy to translate; but, if it bears the meaning which I have given it, it depicts in a forcible manner the uneasiness of the Dodici, when even the friendly Emperor was a source of alarm.

in the complicated vicissitudes of those days, Nobles, People and Emperor were alike concerned. That summer so violent were the dissentions between the two parties that the magistrates themselves, in the very Palace of the Commune, drew their knives upon one another—*ed erano per accoltellarsi.* At the end of August matters came to a head, for (says the old chronicler) "the party of the *Dodici* which was called *Grasselli* spake unto the Salimbeni which held with them and said, *Arm you, and make you ready to battle, because the Caneschi are gathered together and conspire against us.* And, in like manner, the *Caneschi* spake unto the Tolomei which held with them, saying, *Be ye valiant, and make ready, because we hear that the Grasselli have conspired together against us and are gathering to battle.* For this cause the Gentiluomini assembled in Siena, they and the Nove, eight thousand fighting men. And the nobles of Siena, beholding the iniquity of these *Dodici,* and that they sought to cause the nobles of Siena to cut one another to pieces, made peace and amity among themselves, and promised and swore fealty together, generally the one with the other, all the nobles of Siena; and they promised the *Popolo minuto* and the *Nove* to reform the government according to their will. Thereafter, on the 2nd day of September, they sent to tell the Signori *Dodici* that they willed that the Palace should be given up to them,



and were minded to reform the City; and incontinently, without stroke of sword, the *Dodici* gave up the Palace and the Signory to the nobles. Wherefore the nobles entered into the Palace and had the rod of office *(bacchetta)*, and the seals, and the bells, and all the fortresses of Siena, and reformed the City".

The new Signoria, consisting of thirteen magistrates (10 *Gentiluomini*, and 3 *Noveschi)*, adopted the style and title of Consuls, in memory of the heroic age of the Commune. Their government, however, endured but a few days. The Salimbeni (although they were represented among the Consuls) at once sold themselves to the *Dodici*, while the *Popolo* beheld with uneasiness an aristocratic reaction *contra statum popularem*. Nor was the Emperor any better pleased. From the *Dodici* he had received submission; and, with their aid and that of the Salimbeni, he hoped to acquire a more direct dominion in Siena.

On the 5th September he arrived in Lucca, and hardly had the news of the revolution reached him, than he sent forward Malatesta da Rimini, the Imperial Vicar, with 800 men at arms. On the 23rd September, Malatesta encamped at Fontebecci, and in the name of the Emperor demanded possession of the City. The people, ever imperialist, together with the Salimbeni and the *Dodici*, took up arms, and hewed down the gate

of San Prospero. With the cry of *Vivat dominus Imperator et Populus!* they rushed to the attack. The fray began at Sant' Andrea, " and thither came Gentlemen of all the noble houses *(d' ogni Casata);* and the Consuls which were in the Palazzo came; and there was a great and grievous battle ".

Finally the imperial troops were victorious. *Demum populus ad Campum veniens expugnavit palatium ubi erant Consules, qui prostratis januis, intraverunt, et sic expulsi fuerunt Consules.* Such is the terse official account of the notary of the Palace, Jacopo Manni. He adds: *Ego Jacobus Manni notarius vidi hec, quare semper fui in palatio, cancellarius a prima die septembris predicti* (1).

A Council of 124 *Riformatori* created a new magistracy *de duodecim popularibus* which took office on the 24th. However, the faction of the *Dodici* had no longer exclusive control, for the *duodecim populares* consisted of 4 *Dodicini,* 3 *Noveschi* and 5 of the *Popolo minuto.* Thus the lowest class of citizens were at last admitted to the government; and possibly not to its disadvantage. Things had come to such a pass that no change could be for the worse; and the

(1) It may be of interest to note that, in this revolution, the painter Andrea di Vanni took a prominent part. During the rule of the *Riformatori* he occupied many of the most important offices of the Republic—See Milanesi *Documenti,* I. 304, 305, and compare the *Arch. stor. it.,* IV. 41 note.



artisan is generally a more honest and virile specimen of humanity than the counter-jumper.

The nobles paid dearly for their twenty-two days of authority, for, after their overthrow, they were excluded not only from the Signoria as heretofore, but also from the Councils and minor offices of the Commune. The Salimbeni, on the other hand, were permitted to inscribe themselves among the *Popolo,* and were further rewarded for their treason to their class by the gift of no fewer than six castles, and were provided with a guard of 200 soldiers at the public expense.

In October, Charles IV, passing through Siena on the way to Rome, gave the sanction of his presence to the new government. "And he dismounted in Casa Salimbeni; and he had with him 1100 horsemen, among whom were 500 men-at-arms; and they were all lodged and quartered in the houses of the nobles who had fled; and all their pleasant chambers were used as stables".

The Emperor only remained in Siena two days, from Thursday Oct. 12th to Saturday Oct. 14th; and hardly had he left the City, than the *Dodici,* ill content to share with others an authority which they had enjoyed alone for thirteen years, began to conspire against the *Noveschi,* whose three representatives they hoped to exclude from the Signoria. In this, however,

they found that they had reckoned without their host. They could stir up tumults and revolts, but they could not direct them. By this time the proletariat had realized its strength; and on the 11th day of December, *insurgente ad rumorem in civitate Senarum popolo minuto* (so writes the Notary Simone di Conte), *et facto tumultu et clamore maximo apud palatium in quo erant dd. Duodecim, et demum apposito igne ad unum ex hostiis exterioribus dicti palatii, patuit ingressus in palatium populo supradicto, qui cum furore maximo deposuit officium dictorum dd. Duodecim, et expulit extra palatium septem ex dictis Dominis, videlicet tres de numero seu gente Novem et quattuor de dicta gente Duodecim, remanentibus in dicto palatio quinque ex dictis dd. Duodecim de gente populi minuti.*

Thus the government remained in the hands of the lowest class, who, with the approval of Malatesta (who was still in Siena), constituted a Council of 150 *Riformatori,* all of the *Popolo minuto,* and a Signoria of fifteen, also of the *Popolo minuto,* to serve up to the 1st January. Among the fifteen were included the five already in office. The new magistracy, which was called the *Domini Defensores Populi et Comunis Senarum,* did not, however, complete even the short term assigned to it; for, on the 16th December, the *Riformatori,* fearing the result of the representations which the *Dodici* were making to the Emperor at Rome, summoned to the Palace the

three *Noveschi* and the four *Dodicini* who had been expelled, and readmitted them to the Signoria, retaining therein eight of the *Popolo minuto,* and providing that from these eight should be selected the Captain of the People; while, as a further precaution, it was ordered that the *Gonfalonieri Maestri,* or standard bearers of the three Terzi, should also be members of the *Popolo minuto.*

And now, let us pause for a moment to take breath, and to make sure that we have not lost our way in this labyrinth of numbers and of names, this dizzying mutation of governments and of factions.

To recapitulate. In the last four months of 1368 the government of Siena was changed four times. The exclusive rule of the *Dodici* having come to an end with the revolution of 2nd September, the following magistracies came into being and disappeared in rapid succession: first, on the 6th September, a magistracy of THIRTEEN CONSULS, consisting of 10 *Gentiluomini* and 3 *Noveschi;* second, on the 24th September, a magistracy of TWELVE, consisting of 4 *Dodicini,* 3 *Noveschi* and 5 *Popolani minuti;* third, on the 11th December, a magistracy of FIFTEEN, composed exclusively of members of the *Popolo minuto;* and fourth, on the 16th December, another magistracy of FIFTEEN, consisting of 8 *Popolani minuti* 4 *Dodicini* and 3 *Noveschi.*

Thus a fourth *Monte,* that of the *Riformatori,* came into existence, its name being taken from the *Consiglio dei Riformatori* which had instituted the new order of things. This Council, which was subsequently enlarged more than once, elected the most able of its members to the Signoria, and remained at the head of the State as a permanent assembly, superior to the magistracy of the *Quindici* and the other ordinary councils. Moreover, that magistracy itself (in spite of the participation therein which was granted to the 4 *Dodicini* and 3 *Noveschi)* was known as the magistracy of the *Riformatori* from the preponderant portion of its members.

There can be but little doubt that the *Riformatori* sincerely and earnestly desired to be *Reformers* in the best sense of the word; and their first efforts were devoted to the healing of old discords.

The *gentiluomini,* they felt, must still be excluded from office. That was the general sentiment of the age in all the Italian communes; and indeed, as Gregorovius remarks, " the struggle of the People against the nobles was merely a continuation of the struggle against feudalism ". Nor had the conduct of the *Casate,* during the brief period of their renewed authority, been such as to inspire the confidence of the lower classes; for, says Nero di Donati, " in the said



time, to wit in the twenty-two days that they ruled, the *Gentiluomini* cruelly killed many citizens, causing them to be beheaded and slain; and great was the number of them"; while, after their government had been overthrown and they themselves expelled from the City, they had never ceased to burn and pillage the country-side up to the very gates of Siena, "on such wise that the City was besieged".

With regard to the *Nove* and the *Dodici* (although neither the narrow and intolerant oligarchal rule of the one, nor the pusillanimity and self-seeking of the other were forgotten) the *Riformatori* proved themselves generous. As we have seen, they admitted members of each of those *Monti* to the supreme magistracy, only retaining for themselves a bare majority. Indeed, it was their great object to bring about a union of the whole People; and to this end they commanded that the party names of *Nove* and *Dodici* should be abolished and that, according to the number of the families of the two orders, the first should henceforth be called *Popolo del minor numero;* the second *Popolo del numero mediocre;* while they themselves assumed the title of *Popolo del maggior numero.*

Unfortunately, however, their honest efforts for a reconciliation met with no response; and, hardly had the new government been constituted, than the *Dodici* and the Salimbeni rose against

it. Aided by Charles IV, who returned from Rome on the 22nd December, and by the men-at-arms under Malatesta, with the secret agreement that "*misser Malatesta dovea avere per questo Siena a tirannia de Lomperadore per 20 mila fiorini d' oro l' anno. E li Salimbeni, e li Dodici due dì sangue, e li forestieri tre dì sacco*" (1), they attacked the Palazzo Pubblico (18 January, 1369) and expelled the three *Noveschi* on the pretext that that Order was plotting to recall the nobles. But the Signoria knew the character of the men with whom they had to deal, and when they saw the troops of the Emperor, to the number of 3000, defiling into the Campo, "by inspiration of God they were aware of the treason, and anon commenced the battle with them, and they fought in divers places in the Campo". The bell of the Commune rang furiously overhead in the Mangia Tower, and from every workshop and forge and alley, artisans and mechanics hurried to the assistance of the magistrates; "and the Captain of the People who was in the Palace (his name was Matteino di Ser Ventura da Menzano) went forth against them with the standard and with a small company; and fighting with

(1) *i. e.* "That for this, Misser Malatesta should have the lordship of Siena, paying therefor to the Emperor twenty thousand golden florins yearly; that for two days the *Dodici* and the Salimbeni should have full liberty to massacre their enemies throughout the city, and the foreign mercenaries three days in which to sack it".



them, he drave not a few of them forth from the Campo and back to the Croce di Travaglio (1); and through every street there was a very great battle; and there was the Imperial Standard cast to earth and the standard-bearer slain. The Emperor, beholding that, suddenly turned back. At Piazza Tolomei all dismounted and, holding the palaces round about, made a stand; and there was a great and incredible battle, and it endured more than seven hours. And there were slain and wounded many Bohemians and gentlemen of the Emperor... And at the end the said Emperor and his folk were broken and driven and thrust back into Casa Salimbeni; and there were taken from them 1200 horses, and all their harness and weapons of war; and there were slain of them 400 men, captains of renown, and gentlemen of high estate, among whom died one nephew of the Emperor, and one was wounded; and of counts and knights and noble persons, so many were wounded that all the hospitals were full of them without number..... The Emperor abode alone, alone, in the greatest dread that ever any coward had. The People

(1) The *Croce di Travaglio* is the name given to that spot in the centre of the City, almost opposite the Casino de' Nobili, where the three main thoroughfares meet. The derivation of the name is, perhaps, not absolutely certain, but, according to the better opinion, the word *Travaglio* is simply a corruption of the latin *trium vallium*, it being the place of intersection of the three Valleys. Compare, however, my "*Ensamples* ,, *of Fra Filippo* &c, *op. cit.* page 36, note 1.

kept him guarded, and he wept, and excused himself, and embraced and kissed every person that came unto him, and said, 'I have been betrayed by Misser Malatesta and by Misser Joanni, and by the Salimbeni, and by the Dodici'; and he spake and told them after what manner.... "

Thus was Charles obliged to come to terms with the magistrates, upon whom he conferred a *privilegium* with a gold seal, constituting them and their successors Imperial Vicars in Siena and in the contado, for ever. Thereafter he departed from the City, with little credit but with some thousands of gold florins which he had borrowed from Biccherna.

The three *Noveschi* who had been expelled were reinstated in the Palace with great honour.

In spite of all that had happened, the *Riformatori* were not yet willing to abandon hope of a loyal and permanent reconciliation between all the popular parties. On the 31st January, after having frankly begged the *Noveschi* and the *Dodicini* to act in concert with them, they caused a resolution to be passed in the Consiglio Generale whereby it was provided that, on such day as the Signori Difensori and the Captain of the People should ordain, there should be celebrated with the utmost solemnity " la messa della Pace ", whereto were summoned, together with



the *Popolo,* all the *Nove* and the *Dodici,* " e loro discendenti e pertinenti "; that, after the mass, all should make peace with one another and swear, " sulla pietra sagrata ", to be true and leal to the existing government. At the same time it was forbidden to " zanzalare ", or to calumniate any citizen, while the shouting, " al tempo d' alcuno rumore, che Dio cessi, *Muoia el Popolo ! Muoia e' Nove ! Muoia e' Dodici !* was, like the breaking of the peace or attempting to subvert the government " al presente riformato ", rendered highly penal. Moreover, the *Riformatori* were resolved, if possible, that even the nobles should not be excluded from the general amnesty. Mediators from Florence were called in, and before the end of June, the exiles returned to the City ; " and they made great festival in Siena with trumpets, and bonfires, and merry-making, and professions of good will *(belle diciarie).* The *Gentiluomini* were even admitted to the minor offices of the Commune, although the supreme magistracy, of course, remained closed to them.

Nevertheless, peace did not come. The dissentions between the *Nove* and the *Dodici* continued, mainly by the fault of the latter. Through the contemporary chronicle runs the bitter refrain, *e tutto fu per operazione de' Salimbeni e de' Dodici.* The nobles too, were not satisfied with the concessions they had obtained, and conducted

themselves with violence and lawlessness alike in the City and in the contado, until it became necessary to promulgate the severest enactments against them.

Later on, the *popolo minuto* itself, which had given birth to the government of the *Riformatori,* became discontented. From the nature of things but few of its many members could have a seat in the Signoria, and, of course, every man deemed himself as fit to rule as his neighbour. The appetite for personal power had been created, and those who could not share the offices and emoluments of the State felt angry and sore at being passed over. The ill humour of the proletariat was increased by the high price of grain, and by the disputes which arose between the wool-carders and the *Maestri* of the *Arte della Lana.* In 1370, these wool-carders, men of the lowest class, dwelling in the precipitous lanes about the Porta Ovile, formed an association which they called the *Compagnia del Bruco.* There were about 300 of them, captained by a *ligrittiere* (or retail vendor of woolen stuffs); and hunger and wretchedness made them desperate. In July, 1371, they resolved to suffer no longer, and marched tumultuously through the city, demanding grain at the houses of the wealthy and menacing those who refused them. The Senator, a criminal magistrate, thereupon arrested three of them, and, having extorted confes-

sion from them by torture, condemned them to death. The *Compagnia del Bruco* immediately took up arms, and, after compelling the Senator to liberate the prisoners, invaded the Public Palace, drove from the Signoria the four *Dodicini* and the three *Noveschi,* and replaced them by seven of their fellow tatterdemalions.

For more than two weeks the city was in perpetual tumult; and herein the *Dodici* and the Salimbeni thought that they saw an opportunity of regaining the authority which they had lost. Having suborned the Captain of the People and the *Gonfalonieri Maestri,* they laid their plans to "cut to pieces the *Compagnia del Bruco,* the Tolomei, the *Nove,* the Bishop and certain others, and then to reform the City" (1).

By a fortunate accident, the Signoria discovered the plot on the night of the 29th July, only a few hours before it should have been carried into execution, and were able to take steps for their own safety, They could not, however, stop the rising; and, before day broke, the Salimbeni and their followers had commenced their bloody work. The *Compagnia del Bruco* was attacked and massacred, houses and workshops were broken into, and those wretched

(1) *Cronaca Sanese, ad ann.,* in MURATORI, XV. col. 226.—The Bishop was Jacomo de' Malavolti. He had been consecrated in Avignon, and had only returned to Siena on the 8th of the preceding month. He died in November of the same year—See PECCI, *Storia del Vescovado.*

wool-carders were put to the sword without regard for age or sex. The old chronicler graphically describes the horrid scene; how "one fled here and another there", how "some sought to hide themselves and some threw themselves over the city walls; their women dishevelled with their cradles on their heads, and their children in their arms or led by the hand, fleeing with their terrified burdens, so that never was there sight so pitiful".

Then the tide turned. Those who had attacked the Palace were beaten off; the People were everywhere victorious, and avenged those misdeeds with many summary executions. Finally the Magistracy of the Quindici was reformed by the expulsion of the four *dodicini,* their seats being filled by four *popolani del maggior numero,* so that the Signoria was now composed of three of the *Nove* and twelve of the *Riformatori;* while the faction of the *Dodici* were declared incapable of office and were deprived of their arms.

These continual commotions, this state of living, as it were, upon the brink of a precipice, exacerbated the minds of the *Riformatori.* Their nerves (if such things were known in those strenuous days) were affected, just as men's nerves are affected by continual seismic disturbances, and their very nature seemed to change. No longer bent upon conciliation and forgiveness,

they became irritable and cruel, and gave vent to their lower instincts in ferocious and unjust measures of repression. They tortured witnesses, till, like that poor Fardello (1), men committed suicide rather than face "examination" at the hands of the magistrates; many paid the death penalty on mere suspicion; and we read of a certain Ser Agnolo d'Andrea, of the Order of the *Dodici,* who was condemned on no better grounds than that he invited to a banquet certain friends of his who were believed to be hostile to the government, without including among his guests any of the *Riformatori.* The minds of men were brutalized and that delight in witnessing suffering which lies dormant in human nature, was aroused and whetted by the constant sight of frightful barbarities. Criminals were slowly torn to pieces with red hot pincers *(attanagliati),* while bound upon a cart which was driven through the streets of the city at a walking pace, so that all the citizens might look thereon (2). Nero di Donati's chronicle becomes

(1) *Cronaca Sanese, ad ann.* 1372, in MURATORI XV. col. 234.

(2) See the *Cronica Sanese* in MURATORI, *ad annum* 1377.

In an Inventory of the *Camera del Comune* of 1460, we find the following entries: "*Un coltellaccio da squartare huomini a la finestra di Martinella*"; "*Duo paia di tanaglie da tanagliare huomini alla detta finestra*"; and, to complete the list, "*due pezzi di catene da ardere huomini*".

In a *sonetto contra Don Diego Urtado da Mendozza,* written in 1552, it is declared that for his "tanti falli" he deserves no less a punishment than

"La forcha, 'l fuoco, 'l carro e la tanaglia".

one long wail. He complains that "all right and all justice was dead in the City of Siena by reason of the works of the *Dodici* and of the Salimbeni"; that "things came to such a pass that in Siena, and in the contado, they slew and robbed everyone—*si uccideva e robava ogni persona*". He tells us how a certain Giovanni di Meo, a hosier of the *Popolo maggiore* was arrested by the Potestà, "the which Giovanni was the greatest and most enormous sinner that dwelt ever in Siena. He burnt and robbed in Siena many of the houses and shops of the *Nove,* and slew many women in new and unheard of ways[1]; he lived with his familiars *(con commari)* and with his daughters in most dishonest lechery. This man wounded himself and declared that one of the *Dodici* had wounded him, to the end that he might calumniate the *Dodici* and have money from the Commune; and thereof he had much. He was worthy of a thousand deaths, more than any man of whom the world holds record". Yet, because the Potestà wished to punish him after his deserts, "the *Popolo de' Riformatori* were wrath with the said Potestà; and therefore he was not re-elected". Finally, beholding the infinite miseries of those evil days, the chronicler is driven to the conclusion that they are due

[1] "*e uccise donne più per nuovi modi inistimabili*"—Apparently a 14th century 'Jack the Ripper'.

to some disastrous stellar influence. "At this time", he says, "there reigned in the world a planet which had these effects..... Brethren and cousins, husbands and wives, neighbours and friends, were at enmity with one another; in all the world were sanguinary quarrels. I speak not more at large for very shame, albeit I could give innumerable instances. In Siena no man understood or kept faith; neither the gentlemen among themselves nor with others; nor the *Nove* among themselves nor with others; nor the *Dodici* among themselves nor with others; nor the *Popolo,* to wit those that ruled, with one another nor with others, in any perfect wise; and so the world is all one darkness".

In their foreign policy the *Riformatori* were no more successful than in their government of the City. They were obliged to fight the Salimbeni in the Contado, where, after they had been expelled from the town for their crimes, they became a standing menace to the Commune. Grave injuries too were inflicted by the mercenary bands, especially the Bretons and Gascons. The rival claims of Charles of Durazzo and Louis of Anjou to the Neapolitan kingdom caused fresh disturbances in Tuscany; and the *Riformatori* entertained hopes of gaining possession of Arezzo, which was first occupied by Durazzo's men, and then by Enguerran de Coucy for Louis of Anjou. But, while Siena was nourishing dreams of con-

quest, the French sold the coveted city to the Florentines, whose negotiations had been conducted with marvellous ability and despatch (1384). This cruel disappointment brought the gathering exasperation of the Sienese against their rulers to a climax; and, at last in March 1385, the *popolo* rose in insurrection, instigated and led by the *Gentiluomini,* the *Nove* and the *Dodici.* By a cruel irony, the government of the *Riformatori,* which had sought so loyally and laboured so earnestly after peace, was overthrown to the cry of *Viva la pace!* And they were "broken and cast forth and evil entreated and banished and slain". More than four thousand "good artisans" were exiled from the city to the great injury of Sienese industries, and the Signoria was once more reconstructed; this time with 4 *Noveschi,* 4 *Dodicini* and 2 of the *Popolo.* Those, however, of the last named order were excluded who had, at any time, been members of the Supreme magistracy or sat in the Council of the *Riformatori.* Thus a new popular order came into being, which assumed the name of the *Monte del Popolo,* and which was destined to complete the tale of Sienese *Monti.*

The bourgeois element, once more victorious, sought, by the admission of two of the lower classes to the magistracy of the *Dieci Signori Priori Governatori del Comune,* to create a dualism in the *Popolo del maggior numero,* and, by

splitting it into two Orders (the *Monte dei Riformatori* and the *Monte del Popolo),* to secure their own preponderance. True it is that, in the course of time, the *Ordine del Popolo* obtained great power and influence, but its first appearance on the stage of Sienese politics marked the victory of the factions hostile to the rule of the working classes, created a new division among the citizens, and interposed a new obstacle to that equality and civil concord in which consists the essence of an ideal democracy—an ideal the realization of which will probably prove for all time as illusory as the old search for the terrestrial paradise, and which the lapse of five centuries does not seem to have brought appreciably nearer.

In 1383 the *Quindici Riformatori* had revived the old half-forgotten register of the *memorialis offensarum* in a book called "*il Balzano*" (1). Therein we find recorded the ravages of predatory bands in the contado, and how, about Torrita in the Val di Chiana, "they took passing great booty of prisoners, and left neither flocks nor herds, whether work-oxen, cows, sheep, swine or horses, to the value of very many thousand florins, so that in Torrita there remained scarce

(1) See page 29 *supra*, note 1.—The "Libro detto *il Balzano*, contenente le offese fatte al Comune di Siena dal 1383 al 1388", is published by L. BANCHI as an appendix to the "Memoriale delle offese".

three yoke of oxen". A month later another entry recalls another raid, the slaying of certain shepherds and the driving off of five thousand sheep, followed by the capture of the Sienese captains who "*volendo vendicare la detta offesa e ricoverare l' onore del Comune di Siena*", rode after the marauders, but fell into an ambush and were held to ransom.

These things were bad enough; but the *Dieci* soon had more grievous matter to chronicle. In 1388, there is an entry which sets forth the fact that "Misser Giovanni of Montepulciano took Montepulciano from our Commune and gave it to the Commune of Florence"; and then, in another hand, "The Florentines took Cortona from us while we were in alliance with them. In the Instrument of the said League they covenanted to defend for us Cortona and Montepulciano, and they have taken from us both the one and the other. In a thousand ways they mocked us and deceived us under pretext of desiring to return them to us, with such and so great lies and falsities that it would be over long to recount them, and all to the shame and infamy of our Commune".

In fact, Florence, ever greedy of dominion, and never bound by any pact which it was to her interest to break, had not been long in realizing how terribly Siena had been crippled by the banishment of so many of her citizens.

In 1387 she cast longing eyes upon Montepulçiano—the old apple of discord between the Communes—and having fomented a rebellion in the subject town, then shamelessly offered her services as arbitrator. For the moment she delayed reaping the fruit of her treachery, and on the 29th October gave judgment in favour of Siena. This decision, however, had but little effect, for Montepulciano again revolted and offered itself to Florence, which now no longer hesitated to accept its submission. War followed, and Siena, unable to resist the aggressions of her stronger neighbour, appealed to Gian Galeazzo of Milan for assistance, only to find that, ere many years were over, her new ally had made himself her master. It is true that the ducal suzerainty only lasted till 1403; but the submission of the Commune to the dreaded one-man-rule *(il governo d' un solo)*, for however short a period, is sadly significant of the weakened moral fibre of the Sienese.

Thus ingloriously ended the 14th century which had begun so brightly; and that same Siena which had defied three Emperors; which had not feared to close her gates in the face of the terrible Barbarossa; which had hardly felt uneasiness at the approach of the seventh Henry; and had seen the fourth Charles humbled and weeping, and at her mercy, was now the prey of a petty Italian despot.

It was a century of great crimes, steeped in cruelty, red with slaughter, and stained with ever increasing licentiousness. Naturally, therefore, we should expect it also to be a century of great saints, for extremes meet, and, even as corruption and every kind of wickedness form the inevitable reaction from excessive devotional tendencies, so do asceticism, morbid introspection and mystic yearnings follow close upon the heels of corruption. Nor are our expectations doomed to disappointment. The Blessed Bernardo Tolomei, who founded the Order of the Monks of Oliveto; the Blessed Giovanni Colombini, who founded that of the Poveri Gesuati; St Catherine, the worthiest of all women to be canonised; San Bernardino, the mighty preacher; were all Sienese. Verily, Mr. Symonds is right when he asserts that few cities have given four such saints to Modern Christendom.

Of these, the most celebrated and, perhaps, also the noblest and the best, was Caterina Benincasa. Of the details of her life it is not necessary to speak. Countless books have been written about her, and her greatness has made her the possession of all ages and of all peoples. Indeed, it would hardly be too much to say that, for many persons, Siena is simply the town of St Catherine; and it is unquestionable that the

ancient city has reaped more glory from the holy life of that simple maiden, than from all its wars and victories, all its poets and all its painters. "Taken as a whole, her life is perhaps unique in history. Women have risen up and prophesied since the days when Deborah was judge in Israel; they have rebuked evil in high places; even in Catherine's day other voices beside hers were raised in protest. Women have been patriots and soldiers like Joan, the maid of Orleans. But few women have combined so many offices, and fulfilled all alike so faithfully" (1). Nor is this the less true if we admit with Mr. Trollope that her mystic trances were cataleptic fits (2), or hold her, with Dean Milman, "the hysterical dupe of artful confessors" (3). We may even acknowledge that, at least in the sense in which Mr. Ruskin uses the word (4), she was "insane"; but none of these things can change the grandeur of her self-sacrifice, the breadth and depth of her sympathy with all humanity, or the great work which she accomplished in an evil age. Possibly, to achieve all that she did achieve, she was almost

(1) Florence Witts, *The Story of Catherine of Siena.*

(2) Thos, Adolphus Trollope, Article. *St. Catherine,* in the *Encyclopædia Brittanica.*

(3) *Latin Christianity* (4th edition) Book XII, chap. XIII, pages 26-30 and notes.

(4) *Mornings in Florence* (New York, John W. Lovell Co. 1889) page 36.

justified in torturing that poor lovely body of hers; although, in this saner twentieth century, it is hard to think it. Nevertheless, when all is said and done, it is incontestable that hers was "one of the best and bravest and meekest woman's lives ever lived". "Make the attempt", says Mrs. Butler, in her *Catherine of Siena*, "make the attempt to live a life of prayer such as she lived, and then, and not till then, will you be in a position which will give you any shadow of a right or any power to gauge this soul's dealings with God". Catherine finished her life as she had begun it, careless of self and full of care for others to the very last; and so, on the 29th April, 1380,

> .. mixed herself with heaven, and died;
> And now on the sheer city-side
> Smiles like a bride.

Catherine was canonised by the great Sienese Pope, Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, Pius II. The Bull which raised her to the Altars of the Church was published in June, 1461, and Pius gratified his love for his native city by drawing up her Office with his own hand (1).

(1) Pius gave his approbation to a service in which the celebrated miracle of the *Stigmata* was prominently asserted, while in some latin verses which he wrote *ad laudem Seraphicae Sponsae D. Nostri Jesu Christi, Beatae Catharinae de Senis*, it is declared that

> Stigmata passa fuit, dictu mirabile, Christi.

This, of course, greatly annoyed the Franciscans who, on behalf of

On the 8th September of the year in which St Catherine died, was born in Massa Marittima the great Saint and preacher Bernardino Albizzeschi. After an exceptionally pure and noble boyhood, we find him, at the age of twenty, labouring with a little band of friends, in the Spedale della Scala, during the pestilence of 1400. Two years later he joined the Franciscan Order.

To his initiative we owe the erection of the Convent of the Osservanza which stands upon the hill of Capriola, about a mile from Siena. The modern building is, however, of later date. Here he studied and here he preached for several years; and it was not until 1417 that he began his apostolate in Milan. Ere long his

their founder, claimed a monopoly in that peculiar brand of miracle; and when Sixtus IV, himself a Franciscan, ascended the papal throne, he hastened to vindicate the rights of St Francis and issued a decree by which it was forbidden to represent St Catherine as receiving the *stigmata* under pain of ecclesiastical censures. "Whether Sixtus intended by this decree to assert that no such miracle was performed on Catherine, or that it ought not to have been performed in justice to St Francis, or that having been unfortunately performed, nothing ought to be said about it, is left (says Mr. Trollope) to the very unsatisfactory conjectures of indiscreet inquirers".

It was now the turn of the Dominicans to be indignant; and so the troublesome controversy dragged on for about a century and a half, until Urban VIII, adroitly reconciled (as far as possible) the equally authoritative, but quite contradictory, rulings of Pius II and Sixtus IV, by declaring that the *stigmata* were "not bloody, but luminous". It would be curious to learn which sort of *stigmata* the pundits of the Church consider superior.

For the student of Sienese art this otherwise futile and childish controversy acquires a certain interest on account of the picture of the *Tavoletta di Gabella* of 1499, representing *St Catherine receiving the Stigmata*. To the right is Pius II, holding in his hand a scroll with the legend STIMATA PASSA FVIT, a patriotic protest on the part of the artist against the decree of Francesco da Savona.

eloquence made him famous throughout Italy, and, wherever he appeared, crowds thronged to hear him. Between this year and his death in 1444, he preached in more than eighty different towns and cities (1). With especial enthusiasm did he inculcate the adoration of the Holy Name of Jesus, and wherever he went he sought to persuade his hearers to paint or carve the sacred letters I. H. S., surrounded by a halo of golden rays, on their churches, houses and palaces—*tum sanctorum templis, tum privatis domibus.* This device is to be seen above the Camollia Gate, in the Sala del Mappamondo, and in countless other places in Siena.

Some idea of Fra Bernardino's influence with his fellow citizens may be obtained from the fact that, in deference to his exhortations, the Consiglio della Campana actually amended the laws and enacted what were known as the *Riformagioni di frate Bernardino.*

He preached in Siena many times; first in 1405, in the Oratorio of Sant Onofrio; a second time in the Cathedral in 1410; in May, 1425, in the Piazza del Campo, in the presence of the Signoria and of a crowd which, according to the chroniclers, numbered, on more than one occasion, 40,000 persons; while on the 15th August, 1427,

(1) A list of these will be found on pages 488, 489 of the *Storia di San Bernardino da Siena* by F. ALESSIO.

he commenced those forty-five sermons which were published, a few years ago, by Luciano Banchi, under the title of *Le prediche volgari di San Bernardino da Siena dette nella Piazza del Campo l' anno MCCCCXXVII.* They consist of three volumes, of about 400 pages each, every word of which is well worth reading.

During the sojourn of the Emperor Sigismund in Siena (1432-3), he contracted a strong affection and regard for Fra Bernardino. "The days passed without seeing him", he used to say, "are days without light".

The Sienese were most anxious that their great fellow citizen should become their Bishop, but, although the Pope nominated him to the see, he firmly refused the proffered honour.

In the spring of 1444 he saw Siena for the last time; and the last time that his fellow citizens listened to his beloved voice he spoke with great earnestness of justice and of the good government of the Republic. He preached in the Piazza del Duomo. A few weeks later (20th May) he died at Aquila, at the hour of vespers, while the friars were singing the words: *Pater, manifestavi nomen tuum hominibus.*

He was canonised six years later by the command of Nicolas V (1).

(1) It may be remarked, for the benefit of those who do not understand Italian, that a very readable Life of San Bernardino has been written in French by Paul Thureau-Dangin. The Italian translation is, however, more useful on account of the additional notes.

Giovanni Tolomei (for the name Bernardo was only assumed when he entered the religious life) was born in 1272. At the age of sixteen he became doctor both of philosophy and of civil and canon law, was subsequently knighted, and, according to the legend of his life, "ruled the State"—an obvious exaggeration, since the Tolomei appear among the *casate* excluded from the government, by the law of 1277 (1). When he was forty years of age he was stricken with sudden blindness, and, having received his sight again in answer to a prayer to the Virgin, renounced the world. With two companions, he betook himself to the wild hills of Accóna. The three anchorites were soon joined by recruits of a like temper. Six years later, Giovanni visited Pope John XXII at Avignon: and, at that pontiff's bidding, the Bishop of Arezzo prescribed the rule of St Benedict for the new brotherhood, which took the name of the Congregation of St Mary of Mount Olivet. Its founder died about the year 1348, and was beatified by the Church for his great virtues.

It only remains to add that one of Mr. J. A. Symonds' *New Italian Sketches* deals with Monte Oliveto and the Blessed Bernardo Tolomei.

Giovanni Colombini was born early in the

(1) See page 46, *supra*, note (1).

14th century, probably between 1300 and 1304. He married in 1342. He seems to have belonged to the *Monte de' Nove,* and is said to have been one of the Supreme Magistracy. He was converted about 1355, and, having bestowed all his worldly goods on the Convent of Santa Bonda (where he had placed his thirteen year old daughter) and on the hospital of S. Maria della Scala, with the proviso that the income arising from the property thus conveyed should be payed to his wife during her lifetime, he " espoused Most High Poverty—*altissima povertà* ", and wandered through the city and country, preaching a gospel of love and reconciliation. So great was his success, and so vast the number of the disciples who abandoned the world at his bidding, that his biographer declares that, for this cause, he was banished by the *Dodici,* lest the city should be depopulated by his doctrines (1357).

Ten years later the Order of the Poveri Gesuati, which he had founded, was approved by Urban V; and, a few weeks or days afterwards, Colombini died at the Monastery of San Salvatore in Monte Amiata.

His letters are among the most remarkable in the category of ascetic works of the 14th century; while, besides his prose writings, he composed *rime spirituali* or lauds. It seems that the Gesuati were accustomed to sing continually

as they wandered about the country, and indeed, at almost all other times. Naturally enough, those of them who had the knack of versifying sang their own words. Of the lauds of Colombini himself only one authentic example has come down to us; but we possess quite a large number by a follower of his, Bianco da Siena. These are written "in the golden tongue of the 14th century—*nella linqua dell' aurea trecento*". They form no contemptible contribution to Italian religious literature (1).

It would, of course, be easy to mention many other Sienese Saints who lived during the period under consideration, but the four of whom I have spoken are the most important, and the space at my disposal is sadly limited.

Over the events of the greater part of the 15th century we may pass very lightly. Important for the story of literature and of art, in its political aspect it is certainly the least interesting period of Sienese history, and is, perhaps, chiefly remarkable in connection with the names of three great men whose joint lives span its entire length:—San Bernardino (1380-

(1) The reader who is curious about the matter will find more than one of these *rime spirituali* in *The "Ensamples" of Fra Filippo*, &c. *op. cit.* See the Index to that work s. v. *Laudi spirituali.*

1444); Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini (1405-1464); and Pandolfo Petrucci (1451-1512).

Of the first of these I have already spoken; the second belongs rather to the story of Italy and of the Papacy than to that of Siena (1); so that we need, in fact, only concern ourselves, in this place, with the last of the three, Pandolfo "the Magnificent".

During the earlier years of the century, we hear less than heretofore of the discord between the various *monti;* and it seems not improbable that, for a time, the intensity of their antagonism was, in fact, diminished by the pressure of external circumstances. From 1409, when, in consequence of the decisions of the Council of Pisa, Florence and Siena had declared against Gregory XII, until the death of Ladislas of Naples, the Sienese had enough to do to defend themselves against the incursions of that monarch; while, in 1431, they were involved in a fresh war with Florence. Indeed it was not till after the Peace of Ferrara, that the internal dissentions again acquired something of their old virulence; and doubtless, as long as he lived, the influence of Fra Bernardino was potent in

(1) How important a part Pius II played upon the stage of Italy and of Europe may be judged from the fact that the whole of the third volume of the late Bishop Creighton's monumental work might be entitled, with perfect propriety, "*The Life and Times of Pius II*"—With regard to the Pope's connection with Siena, see especially, pages 122-123, 212, 244-246 and 355 *seq.*

maintaining civic concord. In 1433 many of the *Dodici* were exiled; and, in 1451, a large number of the *Gentiluomini,* together with more of the *Dodici,* shared the same fate. In 1459, at the request of Pius II, the nobles were readmitted to a share in the government; but this concession, grudgingly made, only remained in force for a few years, and, on the death of the Pope (1464), was revoked altogether, save in the case of members of the Piccolomini house, who were decreed to be *popolani* and were allowed to retain all their privileges.

The failure of the Pazzi conspiracy in 1478 led to a war in which Florence and Milan were opposed to the Pope and the King of Naples. Siena sided with the latter and shared in the victory of Poggio Imperiale and in the taking of Colle di Val d' Elsa. In 1480, after peace had been declared, Alfonso of Calabria, who had captained the allied forces, attempted to impose his suzerainty upon the Commune, and had actually succeded in reorganizing the government to his own advantage and to that of his supporters among the citizens, when he was recalled to the south by the news that Otranto had been stormed by the Turks. In 1483 the *Noveschi,* who had favoured his designs, were condemned to perpetual banishment from the government and from the city, while the *Monte del Popolo* possessed themselves of the lion's share

of the offices and emoluments of the state. But *in perpetuo* was an empty form of words in those turbulent Italian Republics. The *Noveschi,* being " fat burghers ", with powerful connections, abilities and traditions, only gained increased strength and influence in exile; and five years later, on the 22nd July 1487, they returned triumphantly to Siena, dispersed the few adherents of the *popolo* who offered resistance, murdered the Captain of the People, reorganized the State, and then, their own preponderance being assured by their numerical strength and influence, they accorded equal shares of power to the other *Monti.*

Among the returned exiles was Pandolfo Petrucci, a man of little learning but of great natural abilities, subtle and prudent, gifted with a profound knowledge of the baser side of human nature, and entirely free from conscientious scruples. The portrait which Baldassare Peruzzi has left of him, and which adorns the first volume of Pecci's *Memorie,* seems that of a typical Renaissance despot; a broad and somewhat high forehead; clearly marked, but not too heavy eye-brows; well formed nose; calm vigilant eyes, reading all, revealing nothing; a square chin and large voluptuous mouth with firmly compressed lips—the presentment, in fact, of a strong, determined personality, dangerous to thwart, without fear and without remorse.

In a city as corrupt and discordant as was Siena, it was no very difficult matter for such a man to make himself master of the State; and that power which he had gained by diplomacy and finesse, Pandolfo succeeded in preserving with a strong hand. Secure in the support of the French king, who had stood his friend when the Borgia sought his ruin, he fortified his position by alliance with Florence—the old policy of the *Noveschi* which had made Siena so prosperous during the first half of the fourteenth century—and directed the internal affairs of the State by means of the *Collegio della Balìa* (a sort of permanent committee, first introduced in 1455) which, although occasionally reorganized for the purpose of conciliating rival factions, remained always subject to his will. Nevertheless, as Professor Paoli points out, his rule was, strictly speaking, rather a "domination" than a "signory", inasmuch as he left the established form of government intact, and exercised despotic authority only in virtue of his strength of character and the continued increase of his personal power. He found an able servant and coadjutor in his secretary, Antonio da Venafro, whom Machiavelli calls *"il cuore suo ed il caffo degli altri uomini"*, and whose selection by Pandolfo was alone sufficient, in the judgment of the Florentine, to prove the latter *valentissimo uomo.*

Pandolfo was not naturally cruel, but he

seems to have been perfectly callous; and, to say nothing of the removal of Nicolò Borghesi, his father in law, there are ugly stories of men precipitated down prison-drops and buried alive in *razzaie* or charnel-houses. Of one of these poor wretches it is related that he was thrust by treachery into the ossuary of the hospital, where for days his cries were heard growing fainter and fainter, until, at last, death came to his release. However, such and worse methods of execution were common enough in those times.

That Pandolfo was avaricious and lent at usury to the Commune cannot be denied, but that was a time-honoured method of acquiring and maintaining influence in the conduct of public affairs, as we have seen in the case of the *Arti* as early as the 13th century (1). What may be expected to weigh more heavily against him, in a woman-ridden age like ours, when private morality is too often made the touchstone of public virtue, is his intrigue with the fair Caterina of Salicotto, the daughter of a black-smith and wife of a pack-saddle maker, whom, on account of her buxom charms, the people called *Spada a due mani.* Certainly the most confirmed optimist can find nothing idyllic in the squalid amours of an old man of nearly sixty with a vulgar and mercenary plebeian.

(1) See page 29 *supra.*

Still, when all is said and done, Pandolfo did good work in his day and generation. As long as he lived he succeeded in repressing the anarchy and turbulence which was hurrying Siena to her doom. Under his rule she enjoyed peace abroad, and settled government, equal laws and ever increasing prosperity at home. That the methods he employed were often blameworthy, if judged by the criterions of the twentieth century, is indisputable; but, if ever the end can justify the means, this was assuredly such an end. "Pandolfo the Good", even perhaps "Pandolfo the Great", would sound strangely; but "Pandolfo the Magnificient" appears to the dispassionate historian a fitting tribute to the man's true worth (1).

At the same time, in arriving at such a con-

(1) The following is the judgment of a contemporary chronicler, who, although intensely hostile to Pandolfo, admits his ability: *Tamen fuit sapientissimus omnium, ut connumeraretur cum Joanne Bentivolo, et Laurentio Medice.*

Of modern writers C. FALLETTI-FOSSATI, in his work on the *Principali cause della Caduta della Rep. Senese* (page 92), fully recognizes the *grande abilità politica* of Pandolfo, and points out how extremely superficial is the view of his character taken by Burckhardt; while no less an authority than Professor ZDEKAUER speaks of him as *un uomo non comune*, and argues that the diametrically opposite opinions formed about him by different historians are alone sufficient to prove that he was a remarkable man—See *Lo Studio di Siena nel Rinascimento*, page 124.

I am the more anxious to call the attention of the reader to these facts, because I am led to believe that Professor LANGTON DOUGLAS, in his forthcoming *History of Siena*, holds a brief for the prosecution.

The arguments on either side of the question are impartially, if succinctly, stated in U. G. MONDOLFO's *Pandolfo Petrucci*, pages 156-162.



clusion, it is necessary to keep perpetually in mind the great work which he accomplished and the enormous difficulties which he overcame. Apart from that, he might almost seem, as Burckhardt calls him, "insignificant and malicious".

If he sinned, his end was sad enough to evoke the pity of the sourest moralist. Hated and feared by the vast majority of the citizens, estranged from his wife, disappointed in his children and old before his time, he longed to retire into private life, but dared not trust the helm to untried hands. Wracked and wasted with asthma, he sought relief at the Bagni di S. Filippo, near Radicofani, but found no benefit from the waters, and resolved to return to Siena. On the 21 May, 1512, he reached San Quirico and withdrew to his chamber to rest. Two hours later his servants found him dead.

> "The fire is out, and spent the dregs thereof.
> (This is the end of every song man sings.)
> The golden wine is drunk; the dregs remain
> Bitter as wormwood, and as salt as pain;
> And health and hope have gone the way of love
> Into the drear oblivion of lost things".

He was buried in the convent of the Osservanza where his grave may still be seen. Upon it was inscribed this legend:—

> *Ut sua Posteritas secum requiesceret, Urnam*
> *Hanc sibi Pandulphus jussit & esse suam.*

Pandolfo was not successful in founding a dynasty; for his sons and kinsmen, while pos-

sessed of most of his worst qualities, displayed none of his political ability and strength of purpose. They succeeded to his authority, but could not maintain it, and in a few short years destroyed themselves and one another.

The eldest brother, Borghese, an incapable, haughty and dissolute youth, was expelled by his cousin Raffaello in 1515. The new despot proved himself a bitter enemy to Pandolfo's children. He caused Borghese and the younger Fabio to be proclaimed as rebels; while the Cardinal Alfonso was strangled in Castel Sant'Angelo by a Moor, at the command of Leo X. Raffaello died in 1522, detested by the Sienese. When his body was carried to San Domenico for burial, the mob surrounded it with such execrations and fury that "it seemed as if the mouth of hell was opened". At last the Bargello arrived, only to be greeted with showers of stones, while the crowd howled around the corpse which they attempted to carry to the *Vetrice* where the carcasses of dead horses were thrown; "and all the friars fled, leaving the bier alone in the midst of the officers *(birri)* who were scarcely able to carry it into the church. And (says the old chronicler) no man had seen him die; and he received not the sacraments; his death was according to his life, even as saith the proverb, *chi mal vive, mal muore*". In the following year, Clement VII. insisted on the

recall of Fabio Petrucci; but, while that careless youth dreamed sweet dreams of love, inspired by the blond beauty of the gracious Onorata Massaini, a conspiracy was formed to overthrow him in which her brother joined, and, in 1524, a fresh popular outbreak drove him from Siena for ever.

Thus ended the domination of the Petrucci, but the *Noveschi* survived the shipwreck of that house, and succeeded in placing one of their number, Alessandro Bichi, at the head of the State. Their triumph was, however, short lived. Less than three months later the new despot was murdered; many of the *Nove* fled the city; and Siena, rejoicing to be rid of her tyrants, put herself under the protection of the Emperor Charles V., and once more gave herself over to that anarchy and tumult which she loved so well, and which her citizens dignified by the name of Liberty.

In vain Charles tried to save her from herself; he sent his ministers to pacify her discords and to reform her government; he despatched letters of earnest counsel and entreaty, beseeching her to recall her exiles and to live at unity. "This (he writes in 1530) your conscience bids you do; this equity and justice; this your Republic torn by your private hates; this Italy, tranquillized in every part, you alone excepted;

this your Cæsar, anxious for your well-being; this Christ, the best, the greatest, who not only taught, but, by His most potent example, invited all men to pardon their enemies. Most earnestly do we beseech you to hearken. With you it lies to give heed to so many and such reasonable prayers, which, if they move you, shall turn not to your injury, but to your abiding gain".

To all representations, entreaties, counsels, Siena turned a deaf ear, until, at last, the Emperor was compelled to use force; for not only was she a peril to herself but a dangerous nuisance to all her neighbours.

The inefficiency of the government rendered the contado the rendezvous and refuge of all the criminals of Tuscany; the merchandise which passed through the dominion was carried off, farms were invaded, crops cut down, houses burnt; while, in addition to all this, private wars and family blood feuds lacerated almost all the subject towns. In Orbetello, for example, in 1528, not a night passed without the breaking open and sacking of granaries, magazines, houses and shops. In Manciano no day went by but some one appeared before the officials of the Commune to complain that he had been robbed upon the public highway; and, in these ill enterprises, a certain Scipione Bidelli acquired a sinister notoriety. He was an Arciprete of

Chiusi, who for some years, infested the dominion with a company of bandits, doing much the same in the Senese, as Nicolò de' Pelagatti did in the territories of Ferrara.

The political and economic conditions of the various Communes, the exiles, the outlaws, and the discharged soldiers, created brigandage and fostered it; and for these lawless bands the territory of Siena was, as I have said, the chosen asylum and meeting place. Neither goods nor persons were efficiently protected from their depredations, and they grew so bold and numerous that, on more than one occasion, they ventured to resist the levies sent against them by the Republic, and succeeded in putting them to flight. In such of the country villages as were not abandoned, the peasants, for their own safety's sake, were secretly leagued with the outlaws, kept them informed of the movements of the authorities, and, as far as possible, avoided taking up arms against them when summoned to join the *posse comitatus*.

As if the banditti did not suffice to render country life uncertain and dangerous, the contadini themselves not unfrequently associated together for lawless enterprises, and, either with the view of carrying out some local vendetta or, more often, made reckless by misery and famine, invaded a neighbouring village or passed the confines of the State and drove off the flocks

and herds of the Florentines, of the Baglioni, of the Seigniors of Piombino and of Santa Fiora. Such incursions gave rise to infinite law suits and to very lengthy diplomatic negotiations. Indeed, Professor Falletti-Fossati distinctly states that the principal care of Sienese diplomacy, from the second half of the 15th century almost up to the fall of the Republic, was to excuse the depredations of its subjects.

These depredations were, of course, followed by reprisals. Those whose cattle had been driven off frequently took the law into their own hands, and made counter-incursions into the Sienese dominion. Thereupon the contadini fled for refuge to the nearest town, breaking down the bridges behind them. The enemy, having done what harm they could, and gathered as much booty as possible, retired to prevent being surrounded. Then the community set about repairing the damage, but, since their neighbours were always ready to take the offensive, and since the public treasury was almost always empty, many bridges remained unrepaired and many once populous districts were wholly deserted.

The Republic acquired a very evil reputation, and was cordially hated by all its neighbours. The men of San Gimignano and of Colle, the Ricasoli, the Florentines, the Farnesi, the Baglioni and the Pope were continually protest-

ing against the depredations and quarrelsomeness of the Sienese. In 1529, Salimbeni wrote from Rome that to the agents of Cæsar it seemed high time that the Sienese began to live at peace with their neighbours and *"non si procacciassero più scabbia addosso di quella che avevano"*. Nor did the exasperation of those who suffered from their lawlessness always end in words. The Count of Anguillara waylaid three Sienese orators who were returning from Rome, and shut them up in a sort of well, demanding a heavy ransom.

Much the same thing had happened about three centuries earlier, when the Count Omberto degli Aldobrandeschi had laid an ambush for the *buoni sapienti et idonei homines* whom the Commune had sent as ambassadors to his cousin Ildobrandino of Santa Fiora; but, in those old days, Siena was young and of high courage, and Omberto paid for his insolence in the piazza of Campagnatico;

> come i Sanesi sanno
> E sallo in Campagnatico ogni fante [1].

Now, instead, all that the Balìa could do was to protest, scold, and threaten, and all in

[1] *Purgatorio* XI, 65-66—Compare *The "Ensamples" of Fra Filippo* &c, *op. cit.* pages 31, 32, note.—It may be worth mentioning that, in one of the rooms in which the *Tavolette di Biccherna e di Gabella* are kept, there is to be seen a book-cover of the year 1429 upon which are depicted two Sienese ambassadors on horseback passing out of one of the city gates. They are preceded by a Rotellino di Palazzo.

vain; for the Count of Anguillara refused to let the orators go, declaring that, however willing he might have been to oblige the Republic, he could not bring himself to do so when he thought of his own servants *"captivati, tormentati et per taglia liberati"*.

The Counts of Pitigliano, long under the protection of Siena, were now always in arms against her, by reason of the continual inroads which were made upon their lands; and the same thing may be said of numerous other seigniors.

Commerce naturally declined, and at the same time, little by little, Siena not only lost a great part of the large revenues which she once drew from the pasture lands of the Maremma, but also saw the Roman road abandoned, a grave injury to all the towns and villages through which it passed, as well as to the trade of the City itself. The Republic was practically bankrupt; its officials unpaid; its roads unrepaired; its fortresses in ruin; its army neglected.

The poverty of the masses was appalling. Siena itself was thronged with mendicants who, deprived of food and shelter, naked and starving, lived, slept and died in the public streets. To add to the miseries of those unhappy years, there were frequent outbreaks of the pestilence which seemed to have become endemic throughout the Peninsula. In 1527, according to an old chronicle,

Siena lost about 40,000 of its inhabitants from this cause, and over 100,000 in the contado. It is a tremendous cypher, and the more so that, if it be true (as Tommasi declares) that, in 1526, a wolf entered Siena, the Senese cannot have been very thickly populated. The pestilence raged for nine months and then decreased, only to break out again with renewed violence two years later. Grosseto was reduced to so pitiful a state that men died in the streets and the corpses were left unburied; Monterotondo was almost deserted; while the panic of the people was augmented by the lack of doctors, of medicines, and of attendants for the pest-smitten. Pharmacies were rare, physicians rarer yet. Orbetello for example could not obtain a single doctor till there were sick folk in every house.

Surely Charles was not all to blame when he intervened to destroy a government which was helpless to correct such disorders, and to relieve such miseries as these. Certainly the fall of Siena evoked no sympathy from her neighbours (1).

(1) Thus, in a *Barzelletta della Città di Siena*, published in Siena in 1581, but evidently written during the last siege, we read:

Se mi volto al Pastor Santo
Non ne vorrà udir novella,
Tal che fo dirotto pianto

The year 1530 witnessed the death throes of Florentine liberty, and the short-sighted Siena joyfully sent artillery to assist the Emperor in humbling her ancient rival; nor did she perceive till too late that she had thereby sealed her own fate. Yet, weakened though she was, she would not yield without a struggle, and the records of her last brave defence almost make us forget the centuries of folly which had reduced her.

The minister employed by Charles to get possession of Siena was Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, who had learned the subtleties of intrigue in a Spanish convent. He was enthusiastically welcomed by the citizens, some of whom recollected him as an idle law-student at their University, where he had proved himself as dissolute and pleasure-loving as any of his companions. He was now about sixty years of age, soldier, novellist, poet and diplomatist; and no doubt the Sienese felt that the Emperor had

Giorno e notte meschinella,
D' altro già non si favella
Che di Siena in ogni luoco,
Ognun grida: sangue e fuoco
Contra me disconsolata.
Sono Siena sfortunata.

And again:

In Italia son mancati
Già per me tutti i ripari,
Tutti quanti son contrari
Di me afflitta e tribolata.
Sono Siena sfortunata.

paid them a very pretty compliment in sending so accomplished a man to represent him, and one who was also an old friend (1).

Don Diego worked prudently; but he could not long disguise his true intentions. He filled the city with Spanish soldiers who insulted and robbed the townsfolk, and when resistance was offered, an order was issued for a general disarmament of the people. Then, feeling strong enough to act, he began to build a fortress upon the hill of San Prospero, where now is the Passeggio della Lizza. To obtain materials, he destroyed the wall of the City between San Domenico and the Madonna di Fonte Giusta, as well as many of those lofty towers which formed the pride and glory of old Siena. The Sienese were slow to move, but when they saw a fort beginning to be built, which would command their town, they sent ambassadors to Charles to

(1) It may be of interest to note that it was during the government of Don Diego that Sir Thomas Hoby visited Siena. The Spaniard treated his guest with great courtesy; and Hoby was charmed with the city and the people whose universal hospitality seems to have made a deep impression on him. He also remarked on the learning of the Sienese women who "wrote excellently well both in prose and verse". It was in Siena that Hoby met that William Barker who later on became one of the Secretaries of the Duke of Norfolk, and was implicated in his plot. He confessed his share under torture, whereupon the Duke, who had denied everything, called him contemptuously an "Italianified Englishman".—See *Hoby's Diary* in the British Museum, Egert, Mss. 2148, f. 24b, and Mr. LEWIS EINSTEIN'S *Italian Renaissance in England* (New York, Macmillan Co, 1902), delightful book, which contains many references to Siena. See, for example, pages 39, 52, 119, 131, 139, 146, 223, 232, 233.

implore him to respect their liberties. The only answer they obtained was *Sic volo, sic iubeo, stat pro ratione voluntas.* In vain they besought the intervention of Pope Julius, whose mother was a Saracini and a Sienese, and who had been heard to declare that he regarded Siena as his native city; for he, either fearing to thwart Charles' plans, or realizing that Siena free was too unquiet to be a pleasant neighbour, refused to interfere, and sardonically told Don Diego that "if one castle was not enough to keep those hair-brained Sienese in order, his Imperial Majesty had better build two". Thereupon the Sienese citizens in Rome, headed by Æneas Piccolomini, a kinsman of the second Pius, approached the agents of the French king, and with their help collected men and money for the liberation of their native town. On the 26th July, 1552, all was ready. Piccolomini, with his followers, appeared at the New Gate, now the Porta Romana, and Siena rose as one man. After three days hard fighting, from street to street and house to house, the Spaniards were driven from the city, and Don Diego's fortress was razed to the ground.

The grateful citizens offered the signory of Siena to Æneas Piccolomini, but he unhesitatingly refused the proffered honour, declaring that the thought of seeing the free Commune subjected to the yoke of any individual was

abhorrent to him; that what he had done he had done from no thought of private interest, but only for the liberation of his native city, *"e non voleva mai dare occasione, che nè a lui nè a lei avesse a venire minimo pensiero di soggiogarla e metterla in servitù"*. This gallant gentleman died as he had lived, the free citizen of a free State; for when Siena fell, he departed with the other patriots to Montalcino and there breathed his last, before the Peace of Cateau Cambrésis extinquished for ever the fond hopes of the exiles. His monument in the Church of S. Agostino in that city records how, *"cum parva Civium ac Militum manu, Caes. praes. Sena expulsis, Patriam servili jugo oppressam, acriter dimicando, liberavit"*.

On the 8th August, the Collegio di Balìa, having first declared a general amnesty for all the *fuorusciti,* decreed that the Imperial arms and ensigns should be removed and erased both "in public and in private", and those of France set up in their place.

The wrath of Charles knew no bounds, and, even if he could have forgiven the Sienese for their rebellion, he could not forgive them for having appealed to France for aid, and for having put themselves under the protection of the French king. Moreover Cosimo de' Medici, the Grand Duke of Florence, who had conceived

the idea of annexing Siena to his own dominions, took care that the Imperial irritation should be kept alive. In 1553 the blood-thirsty Don Garzia de Toledo was sent to punish the revolted Commune; but the first hostilities in the Val di Chiana did little damage; the dogged resistance of Montalcino caused an unexpected check; and finally, the sudden appearance of Turkish galleys in the southern Italian seas called the Spanish general to Naples; and Siena escaped for the time.

The following year, however, Cosimo took the field with an army commanded by the Marquis of Marignano (1); and on the 26th January the forts of Porta Camullia were captured and the City was invested.

At first the Sienese took the matter gaily enough, and Montalvo tells us of a sally made by a company of young nobles, "splendidly armed, with long plumes waving, and ladies' favours"; while all the fair dames and damosels of Siena thronged the towers and walls, as if to see a tournament. But the gallant charge was broken by a well directed fusillade from the musketeers and arquebusiers in the enemies entrenchments, "thick as hail, so that in a moment all those nobles were slain—*restò tutta quella nobiltà morta*". The next day the Sienese sent to beg permission to bury their dead; and, as those

(1) Of this man some account will be found in "*Como and il Medeghino*" in J. A. SYMONDS's *Sketches in Italy*.

torn and mangled corpses were carried through the city gates, it began to be realized that war, as Marignano played the game, was a very grim and serious thing.

The Sienese general was Piero Strozzi, a Florentine exile and a Marshal of France, whose father, after vainly seeking to liberate his native city, had died by his own hand, in a Medicean prison. Beside his corpse a slip of paper was found, bearing the following words, written in blood: *Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor.*

In the result Piero's selection proved unfortunate for Siena; for while, on the one hand, his keenness for revenge led him to injudicious acts, on the other, Cosimo, finding his mortal foe ranged against him, strained every nerve to raise a sufficient army to overwhelm him. Strozzi's true policy would have been to hold Marignano in check until want of supplies should have forced him to retire; but eager to take summary vengeance on his enemies, and to liberate Siena from a state of siege, he led his army out, intending to join hands with his brother Leone and with fresh troops which were expected to arrive by sea from Marseilles; and then, by an invasion of the Florentine dominions, to raise a rebellion against the Duke.

Unfortunately, Leone was killed at Scarlino, and Piero, after marching through the territories of Volterra, Pisa and Lucca; after having passed

and repassed the Arno; descended into the Val di Chiana and occupied Marciano and Fojano, there to await the enemy.

The two armies faced one another on the heights between which flowed the torrent of Scanagallo. Both were suffering from lack of food, and especially of water. Strozzi's captains besought him to change his position at night; but he, with that love of bravado so often seen in men of reckless character, determined to march in full daylight, with all the gallant ostentation of a tournament. At the last moment, Cornelio Bentivogli offered to sacrifice himself to secure the retreat, only to receive the insulting answer, " Let him who fears fly. I mean to fight ". " Sir, I will fly ", cried that brave gentleman, and rode into the foremost ranks.

It was about an hour before noon, on the 2nd August, and the sun shone down with scorching heat. The Spanish men-at-arms advanced, and, raising their visors as they passed the infantry, smiled upon them with joyful faces, " to show their good will to give them the victory, knowing well (says the historian) that in battle cavalry only decide the day ". The earth trembled beneath their tread and they seemed, as writes an eye-witness of their charge, " a mountain of iron with plumes waving to heaven, a spectacle as gallant as it was beautiful ". About Strozzi were gathered his fellow-citizens, exiles

of Florence, while above them floated a green banner, bearing for motto the line of Dante, *Libertà vo cercando ch' è si cara.*

Three pieces of artillery *(sagri)* thundered from the imperial ranks; two falconets gave back their faint reply (for Strozzi's heavy guns, which had been sent forward at mid-night, were already well on their way towards Fojano); and then the battle joined. Like two mighty waves, black below, foam-topped above, the cavalry of either host hurled together. There was a thunder of rushing hoofs, a crash of steel, and lo! with a shriek of treason and of fear, the French standard-bearer turned and fled. In a moment the splendid squadron divided, broke, and spurred hard out of the fray, bought (it was said) with Spanish gold—*" dodici fiaschi di stagno pieni di scudi d' oro "*—a treachery and a flight which lives even today in the songs wherewith the contadini awake the echoes of that solitary countryside.

O Piero Strozzi in du' son i tuoi soldati
Al Poggio delle Donne in que' fossati;
Meglio de' vili cavalli di Franza
Le nostre donne fecero provanza.

All was lost; but the Sienese were not minded to yield. Like the west country peasantry at Sedgemoor, after Monmouth's flight, they battled on with stubborn courage to the bitter end. And *their* leader did not desert them. High on the Poggio delle Donne, Strozzi, clad

in black armour inlaid with gold, mounted on an arab charger and with his truncheon in his hand, played the part alike of general and soldier, and played them well. He spoke words of comfort to his infantry, declaring that the flight of the French was nothing but a ruse; he bade the drummers and the fifers sound to battle; all the banners waved as if for victory; and the Swiss charged down the hill shouting *Francia! Francia!* while from the hostile ranks arose the answering cry of *Spagna! Imperio!* Swart Spaniards, who had kneeled to pray before they fought, French, Italians, Swiss, Germans, rushed together, slaughtering and slaughtered. The Imperialists had begun to give way, and might have been broken had not the Spanish men-at-arms returned from pursuing the French fugitives, and charged the Sienese upon the flank. It became a butchery pure and simple, and for two long miles, even to the gates of Lucignano, the ground was strewn with the banners, arms and corpses of Strozzi's ruined army; while he himself, with bullet wounds in the side and in the hand, and his head half crushed by a blow from a mace, scarcely escaped to Montalcino.

Even as Gavinana decided the fate of Florence, so the dark slopes of Scanagallo were the grave of Sienese liberty. But what a difference! A few days after Gavinana, Florence surrendered; after Scanagallo, Siena continued to resist for

more than eight months. Thenceforward she was strictly invested; and the war was carried on with the greatest cruelty. Marignano spared no one. The peasants who attempted to bring supplies into the city were hanged without mercy, till the trees seemed to bear dead men rather than leaves. Within the walls the suffering was almost greater. Hospitals and churches were full of wounded; while many lay dying in the streets and squares. Hope was almost dead, yet still the besieged held out. A glorious record of their heroism is to be found in the *Diary* of Sozzini, the Sienese historian, and in the *Commentaries* of Blaise de Monluc, the French general who conducted the defence. In vain the City was anew dedicated to the Madonna (1); in vain the "useless mouths"—little children, the old, the sick and the weak—were thrust out of the gates, to die a lingering death, between the walls and the camp of the enemy. At last, after superhuman valour and superhuman suffering, Siena was forced to yield, and on the 21st April, 1555, the Spanish troops entered the town. Many families retired to Montalcino abandoning their native city to the stranger.

Thenceforward Siena followed the destinies

(1) Siena was first dedicated to the Virgin in 1260 on the eve of the battle of Montaperto; and this dedication was renewed in 1483, in 1526, in 1550 and in 1555. I have treated the subject with considerable detail in my *Our Lady of August and the Palio of Siena.*

of the Duchy of Tuscany, of which, in 1557, she became a part. She, however, retained a separate administration for more than two centuries, until the general reforms of the Grand Duke Pietro Leopoldo, the French domination, and finally, the restoration, swept away all differences between the Sienese and Florentine systems of government.

In 1859, Siena was the first Tuscan city which declared for annexation to Piedmont and the monarchy of Victor Emanuel II—this decision (voted 26 June) being the initial step towards the unity of Italy.

Then, a new day broke from under ground, and, in the clear light of that great dawn, the old enmities were remembered no more. Genoa sent back her chains to Pisa; Assisi forgot to hate Perugia, and Siena stretched out a scarcely reluctant hand to Florence. For then, after three centuries of tyranny and superstition, the Queen of Nations, the Mighty Mother of Civilization and of Art, at last

> awakened out of sleep,
> And stood, full-armed and free; and all her sons
> Knew it was glorious to have looked on her
> And felt it beautiful to die for her.

LITERARY HISTORY

Ut sylvae foliis pronos mutantur in annos,
Prima cadunt; ita verborum vetus interit aetas.
HORACE *Ars Poetica*, 60, 61.

IF Siena possessed no Dante, her literary history is none the less rich in illustrious names.

In the 13th century the vulgar tongue was already in common use, and we possess at least one poem, a *canzone* by a Sienese knight FOLCACCHIERO FOLCACCHIERI, which from internal evidence seems to have been written as early as 1177 (1). The following is the first verse:

Tutto lo mondo vive sanza guerra	All the whole world is living without war,
Ed eo pacie non posso havere neinte;	And yet I cannot find out any peace.
O Deo, come faraggio?	O God! that this should be!
O Deo, come sotenemi la Terra!	O God! what does the earth sustain me for?

(1) *Lettera apologetica dell' Ab.* LUIGI DE ANGELIS *Pub. Prof. e Bibliot. nell' I. e R. Univ. di Siena in favore di Folcacchiero Folcacchieri cavaliere Sanese del Sec. XII il primo di cui si trovino poesie Italiane.* Siena 1818, dai torchi di Onorato Porri. See, however, D' ANCONA e BACCI *Manuale della Lett. Ital.* (Firenze 1903) vol. I. p. 28.

E pare che eo viva inoia delagiente:	My life seems made for other lives' ill-ease:
Ogn huomo mi è selvagio,	All men look strange to me;
Non paiono li fiori	Nor are the wood-flowers now
Per me comgia soleano	As once, when up above
E gli augelli per amori,	The happy birds in love
Dolci versi facieano agli albori.	Made such sweet verses, going from bough to bough.

In the latter half of the 13th century we find two other poets, CECCO ANGIOLIERI (1258?-1312?) and BINDO BONICHI (1260-1337). Of these the former is probably best known to the ordinary reader in connection with his love for pretty Becchina, the shoemakers daughter, and on account of that extremely unpleasant adventure of his at Buonconvento, which Boccaccio has described for us in the *Decameron* (IX. 4). An article by Professor D' Ancona, in the *Nuova Antologia* of January, 1874, contains almost all that is known about him (1). Of his poetry Professor A. Bartoli speaks as follows: "Laughing and crying, joking and satire, are all to be found in Cecco Angiolieri of Siena, the oldest *humorist* we know, a far off precursor of Rabelais, of Montaigne, of Jean Paul Richter, of Sydney Smith" (2). "Poetry of the senses (says Professor d' Ancona) excited by a strenuous imagina-

(1) *Cecco Angiolieri da Siena, poeta umorista del secolo decimoterzo* Compare also A. F. MASSÈRA, *La patria e la vita di Cecco Angiolieri* in the *Bullettino Senese di st. patria*, vol. VIII, (1901) pages 435-452

(2) See the *Encyclopædia Brittanica*, vol. XIII "Italy. Part III", Compare also the same author's *Storia della Letteratura italiana* (Firenze. Sansoni, 1879) vol. II, pages 269-270.

tion, but at the same time voicing the pain and misery of real and pressing needs, which, however, are exaggerated and coloured by a bitterly sarcastic humour". The following is, perhaps, one of his most characteristic sonnets:

S'io fossi fuoco, arderei lo mondo,	If I were fire, I'd burn the world away;
S'io fossi vento, io 'l tempesterei,	If I were wind, I'd turn my storms thereon;
S'io fossi acqua, io l' allagherei,	If I were water, I'd soon let it drown;
S'io fossi Iddio, lo mandere' 'n profondo.	If I were God, I'd sink it from the day;
S'io fossi Papa, allor sare' giocondo	If I were Pope, I'd never feel quite gay
Che tutti i Cristïan tribolerei;	Until there was no peace beneath the sun;
S'io fossi Imperador, sai che farei?	If I were Emperor, what would I have done?—
A tutti mozzerei lo capo a tondo.	I'd lop men's heads all round in my own way.
S'io fossi Morte, io n' andre' da mio padre,	It I were Death, I'd look my father up;
S'io fossi Vita, non stare' con lui.	If I were Life, I'd run away from him;
E similmente farei a mia madre.	And treat my mother to like calls and runs.
S'io fossi Cecco, com' io sono e fui,	If I were Cecco (and that's all my hope)
Torrei per me le giovane leggiadre,	I'd pick the nicest girls to suit my whim,
Le brutt' e vecchie lascerei altrui.	And other folk should get the ugly ones.

BINDO BONICHI was a man of quite another stamp. He is said to have sat in the Supreme Magistracy, and was buried in the Church of San Domenico. He seems, judging by his poems, to have been a confirmed pessimist, and he sat-

irizes the vices and follies of his day with a bitterness which almost amounts to ferocity. The following sonnet is an adequate example:

Gli asin del mondo sono i mercatanti,
E' cavalier que' ch' han per vizio onori,
E li tiranni son gli uomini maggiori
Chi in corte è duca son cani latranti.
E porci sono i cherci e mal usanti,
E lupi sono i malvagi pastori,
Ipocreti son li consigliatori
. (1)
L' altra bruttaglia, ch' è peggiore, o tale,
Ciascun per ingannare adesca l' amo;
Quegli è il più dotto, che più fa di male.
Succidi, Iddio Signor, l' albero e il ramo,
Se vogli far vendetta universale,
E poi rinnova il mondo d' altro Adamo.

The *Rime di Bindo Bonichi da Siena* were published in 1867 in Bologna (presso Gaetano Romagnoli) in the *Scelta di Curiosità Letterarie inedite e rare.*

Two Sienese poets of whom less is known, but who wrote at about the same period, are that MICO of whom Boccaccio speaks as living at the time of the Sicilian Vespers (2), and BENUCCIO SALIMBENI, who has left a few sonnets (3). Of

(1) Here there is a lacuna in the manuscript.

(2) *Decameron* X. 7. The *canzonetta* there given, is, I believe, the only poem of his which has come down to us. Compare UGURGIERI *Le Pompe Sanesi* I. 546.

(3) One of these is published by G. GARGANI, *Della Lingua Volgare nel secolo XIII in Siena* (Siena, Tip. Lazzeri, 1868) page 84. Two will be found in connection with the *Rime di Bindo Bonichi, op. cit.* pp. 159, 164.

It may be mentioned that the *Società Filologica Romana* has recently published four curious poems of the 13th century, under the title of *Rime antiche Senesi.* I have quoted a few lines from one of them on page 39 *supra.*

GIOVANNI COLOMBINI (1300?-1367) and BIANCO DA SIENA I have already spoken (1). The *Laudi spirituali* of the latter were published in Lucca, in 1851. The following are the opening lines of the only poem which can with any certainty be attributed to the former:

Diletto Iesù Cristo, chi ben t' ama
avendoti nel core sì ti brama,
te sempre contemplando non si sfama:
cantare e giubilar vo' per tuo amore

Sfamar non me ne posso del diletto;
tant' amor mi circunda nell' affetto,
ch' il tengo nelle braccia sempre stretto:
cantare e giubilar vo' per suo amore

I' vengo dentr' al core contemplando
e vadomene sempre inebriando,
poi so' inebriato vo' danzando:
cantare e giubilar vo' per suo amore.

Danzando, el cor mi sento venir meno;
quando di Iesù Cristo so' ben pieno
non posso ritener l' anima a freno;
cantare e giubilar vo' per suo amore (2).

While the production of Italian poetry in the 13th century was abundant and varied, that of prose was scanty. The oldest specimen dates from 1231 and consists of short notices of profits and expenses by Mattasalà di Spinello dei Lambertini of Siena (3). There is, however, nothing

(1) See pages 101-102 supra.

(2) Published by G. PARDI in the *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria* vol. II (1895) page 47.

(3) N. TOMMASEO, *Ricordi di una famiglia senese del secolo decimoterzo.* "Arch. Stor. It." Tom V. (1847) App. No. 20.

which can be dignified by the name of literature in these dry and colourless items; although it is undoubtedly interesting and curious to learn what was spent *" nele maniche di mona Moscada "*, or for *" u' cero per san Niccolò "*. Far more important are the commercial letters of Arrigo Accattapane, Aldobrandino Gonzolino, Andrea de' Tolomei and other Sienese merchants, published by Paoli and Piccolomini in 1871 (1); and the letters to Geri and Guccio Montanini published by A. Lisini in 1889 (2); although even these can hardly be considered literature (3).

Of Sienese chronicles anterior to the 14th century but little need be said, since " they are so confused that it is almost impossible to disentangle truth from fiction, or even to decide the personality of the various authors ". Indeed, almost the only reliable data which we possess from which to reconstruct the history of that period, is to be found in the governmental records of the Republic. Among these may be mentioned the *Libri di Biccherna;* the five *In-*

(1) *Lettere volgari del secolo XIII scritte da senesi pubblicate da* C. Paoli *e da* E. Piccolomini. Bologna, G. Romagnoli, 1871.

(2) *Lettere volgari del secolo XIII a Geri e a Guccio Montanini pubblicate per la prima volta.* Siena, Tip. Lazzeri, 1889.

We have also a *Testamento volgare senese del 1288*, published in the *Bullettino della Società Filologica Romana*, Num. III pag. 49. In Roma, Presso la Società 1902.

(3) A. Bartoli, *Storia della Letteratura* &c., *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 10.

strumentarii (especially the *Caleffo Vecchio);* the *Deliberazioni del Consiglio della Campana;* and the *Brevi* of the various magistrates, most of which were incorporated in the *Constitutum Comunis Senarum* which Professor Zdekauer has so splendidly edited.

In the 14th century, however, the chronicles begin to possess some historical value, as well as a certain degree of literary merit. Those attributed to ANDREA DEI, AGNOLO DI TURA called Il Grasso, and NERO DI DONATI are published by Muratori in his *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, vol. XV., and are written in a style which, if not elegant, displays a directness, picturesqueness and vigour which renders them most fascinating reading, The last of the three has almost entirely lost "that cold and monotonous impersonality which characterizes the mediæval writer".

Then too, the statutes were translated into the vulgar tongue. Of these, Milanesi has printed two (the *Breve dell' Arte de' Pittori* and the *Breve dell' Arte degli Orafi)* in the first volume of his *Documenti;* while three volumes of *Statuti Senesi* have been published in Bologna *per cura della R. Commissione pe' testi di lingua.* Of the Statute of the Signori Nove, I have already spoken (1).

In the 14th century also, translations were

(1) See page 55 *supra.*

made of many of the classical authors. Among these we may mention that of the *Æneid*, by Misser CIAMPOLO DEGLI UGURGIERI (1340) (1); and the *Fables of Æsop*, by an unknown author (2).

Turning to religious writings, the first place is of course held by CATERINA BENINCASA. "Hers", says Professor Bartoli, "was the strongest, clearest, and most exalted religious utterance that made itself heard in Italy in the 14th century". By the common consent of Italian scholars, her writings rank among the acknowledged classics of the language; and the Della Cruscans have placed them on the jealously-watched list of their authorities (3). Another ascetic writer of the same period was Fra FILIPPO AGAZZARI (1339-1422), Prior of the Monastery of Lecceto, whose *Assempri* are written in an idiom which Carpellini calls *sanessissimo spiccato*. A very able study of them has been made by Professor Antonio Marenduzzo (4). To

(1) This is the first translation of the *Æneid* into the vulgar tongue; for the celebrated *Fatti d'Enea* of GUIDO DA PISA is hardly even a paraphrase, but rather the story of Æneas retold in Italian.

(2) *Le Tavole d'Esopo volgarizzate per uno da Siena*, Parma, Pietro Fiaccadori, 1860. In the *Cronica Sanese*, MURATORI XV. col. 243, there is an extremely interesting note with regard to one of these fables.

(3) See, however, the article on St Catherine in the *Encyclopædia Brittanica*, cited supra.

(4) *Gli "Assempri" di Fra Filippo da Siena*, Siena, Tip. Nava, 1899—The text of the *Assempri* was published by D. C. F. CARPELLINI in 1864, and forms the second volume of the "Piccola Biblioteca Senese". In my "*Ensamples*" *of Fra Filippo* &c. *op. cit.* I have attempted a translation of several of these narratives.

the letters of GIOVANNI COLOMBINI I have already alluded (1), and we may pass on to Fra BERNARDINO ALBIZZESCHI, whose sermons in the vulgar tongue are "models of style and diction" (2).

In the first half of the 15th century we encounter the earliest of the Sienese *Novellieri,* GENTILE SERMINI, who probably composed his forty *Novelle* about the year 1425. He also wrote verses which are not devoid of grace and charm. To this period belongs ÆNEAS SYLVIUS PICCOLOMINI, humanist, historian and political writer. His *Storia di due amanti* gives a striking picture of Sienese social life; but it was not a book which as Pope he could read without shame, and Pius II apologised for having written it. It contained, he said, two things—an indelicate story and an edifying moral; all read the first, but few heeded the last (3). Of him the late Bishop Creighton has said that "he is one of the earliest representatives of the man of letters pure and simple; he is perhaps the only man of letters who has been equally eminent in literature and in statesmanship".

It was a century of versifiers; everybody could write sonnets, madrigals and *canzoni;* and it gave birth to the *Canto Carnascialesco.* If Siena produced no great poet, many of her sons could

(1) Page 101 supra, See also G. PARDI *op. cit.*
(2) See page 99 supra.
(3) See CREIGHTON's *History of the Papacy,* vol. III page 343.

rhyme musically. For some account of their verses the reader is referred to A. RICCI's excellent lecture on the *Canzonieri senesi della seconda metà del quattrocento* (1).

Of the authorship of the chronicle generally attributed to NICCOLÒ DI VENTURA (d. 1464), and published by Giuseppe Porri in his *Miscellanea Storica Sanese,* I believe that Professor Langton Douglas will have something to tell us in his forthcoming book on Siena (2). Whoever wrote it, it is a most picturesque piece of work and gives a stirring account of the battle of Montaperto. It should be read by every visitor to Siena. As a battle-piece, painted in glorious words, it stands without a rival. There you may read of gallant deeds, of armed knights crashing together, of splintering shields, of hard mail hewn, of shattered helms. There shall you find blood, blood in torrents, blood everywhere—the blood of "those dogs of Florentines", whom the valorous people of Siena slew like swine in a slaughter house. They seemed, cries the chronicler, *porci feriti.* And to all this you will pass from a scene of prayer and reconciliation in the Holy Sienese church, where the Bishop and his

(1) In the *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria* vol. VI (1899) pages 421-465.

(2) LANGTON DOUGLAS, *A History of Siena,* page 85, note (1).

Professor Douglas' learned work has reached me whlle correcting my final proofs. I have read it with equal pleasure and profit.

clergy sing "the old Latin hymns of peace and love", and where the injured is seeking out the injurer to kiss him on the mouth and to pardon him; while over all, battle-field and Cathedral alike, broods the sacred form of God's Most Holy Mother, Siena's Protector and Advocate.

A little later we have the chronicle of ALLEGRETTO ALLEGRETTI, in Muratori (vol. XXIII); and during the same period flourished SIGISMONDO TIZIO (1448-1528), who wrote, with his own hand, a history of Siena from its origin up to the second decade of the 16th century, in ten enormous volumes, in moderate latin. This monumental work, although discursive and disconnected, is always valuable to consult. The original is preserved in the Biblioteca Chigiana in Rome, but the Biblioteca Comunale of Siena possesses a copy, made in the last century by the Ab. Galgano Bichi, to which is prefixed a biographical notice.

The best Sienese historians belong to the 16th century. They are ORLANDO MALAVOLTI (1515-1596), a man of noble birth, "the most trustworthy of all" (1); ANTONIO BELLARMATI; ALESSANDRO SOZZINI DI GIROLAMO, the author of the *Diario delle cose avvenute in Siena dai 20 luglio 1550 al 28 giugno 1555* (published in the "Archivio storico italiano" together with other

(1) C. PAOLI in the Article *Siena* in the *Encyclopædia Brittanica*.

narratives and documents relative to the fall of the Republic); and GIUGURTA TOMMASI, of whose history only the first ten books have been printed, owing to the death of his wife Livia Cinuzzi in 1628, before she had completed the task of editing her husband's work.

In the same category with these historians Professor Paoli mentions the learned scholars CELSO CITTADINI (d. 1627); UBERTO BENVOGLIENTI (d. 1733), one of Muratori's correspondents (the notes to the *Cronica Sanese* are from his pen); and GIO. ANTONIO PECCI, the author of the *Memorie storico-critiche della città di Siena,* which, beginning with the Life of Pandolfo Petrucci, carries the history of Siena up to the year 1559. He also wrote a history of the Bishopric of Siena.

In the 16th century, ALESSANDRO PICCOLOMINI, Bishop of Patras, produced that curious work known as *La Raffaella ovvero della bella Creanza delle Donne.* It is a dialogue between a procuress and a youthful wife, whom she is endeavouring to corrupt; and, if not particularly edifying, throws considerable light upon the toilet arrangements of the Sienese ladies. To this same period belong the *Novelle* of SCIPIONE BARGAGLI, of M. GIUSTINIANO NELLI and of PIETRO FORTINI, as also the *Raccolta di Burle, Facetie, Motti e Buffonerie di tre Huomini Sanesi* of ALESSANDRO SOZZINI (1518-1608). None of these

works are remarkable for their delicacy, though the first mentioned author is a writer of some merit. The *Raccolta* of Sozzini is amusing, and, at the worst, only vulgar; but the *Novelli* of Nelli and of Fortini are both trivial and indecent. With regard to the latter especially, it is not a question of the mythical innocence of the "young person", or even of that exaggerated prudery which has earned for us Englishmen a not altogether unmerited reputation for hypocrisy among our continental neighbours. Here there can be no mistake. Fortini is openly and flagrantly obscene.

In the 17th century we find LUDOVICO SERGARDI (Quinto Settano), a Latinist and satirical writer of much talent and culture; but "the most original and brillant figure in Sienese literature is that of GIROLAMO GIGLI (1660-1772), author of the *Gazzettino, La Sorellina di Don Pilone, Il Vocabolario Cateriniano,* and the *Diario Ecclesiastico.* As humorist, scholar, and philologist Gigli would take a high place in the literature of any land. His resolute opposition to all hypocrisy—whether religious or literary—exposed him to merciless persecution from the Jesuits and the Della Cruscan Academy" (1).

Of the scientific writers of Siena I very frankly confess that I have read and know ab-

(1) C. PAOLI, Article cited.

solutely nothing. I therefore quote the following paragraph from the pen of the late Professor Paoli:

"In theology and philosophy the most distinguished names are—BERNARDINO OCHINO and LELIO and FAUSTO SOCCINI (16th century); in jurisprudence, three SOCCINI—MARIANO senior, BARTOLOMMEO, and MARIANO junior (15th and 16th centuries); and in political economy, SALLUSTIO BANDINI (1677-1760), author of the *Discorso sulla Maremma.* In physical science the names most worthy of mention are those of the botanist PIER ANTONIO MATTIOLI (1501-1572), of PIRRO MARIA GABRIELLI (1643-1705), founder of the Academy of the Physiocritics, and of the anatomist PAOLO MASCAGNI (d. 1825)".

Among the modern Sienese writers who are worthy to be placed in the same category with Celso Cittadini, Uberto Benvoglienti and Gio. Antonio Pecci, may be mentioned SCIPIONE BORGHESI (d. 1878) who has left us a precious store of historical, bibliographical and biographical documents; and the librarian C. F. CARPELLINI (d. 1872), the author of several monographs on the origin of Siena and the constitution of the Republic. He was one of that splendid band of scholars who with F. L. POLIDORI (d. 1865), the director of the then nascent *Archivio di Stato,* founded, in 1859, the *Società Senese di Storia Patria Municipale,* the precursor of the present *Com-*

missione Senese di Storia Patria, which is doing so much good work " in collecting materials for a complete history of Siena and of its ancient State ". Among its members, past and present, are to be found such names as LUCIANO BANCHI (d. 1887), GAETANO MILANESI (d. 1895), CESARE PAOLI (d. 1902), ALESSANDRO LISINI, LODOVICO ZDEKAUER, and NARCISO MENGOZZI, to mention only a few among the many learned men to whose labours Siena and those who love her owe so great a debt of gratitude (1).

(1) See the *Relazione e Indici, pubblicati dalla Commissione Senese di Storia Patria nella R. Accad. dei Rozzi, per il Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche da tenersi in Roma.* Siena, Tip. Lazzeri 1902.

THE "PALIO DELLE CONTRADE"

Chi vedesse azzuffar costoro in piazza
Con tanta pertinacia per la parte,
Avendo mille carte
Non crederia che non fusser nimici
E l' altro dì son fratelli ed amici.
GENTILE SERMINI. *Il giuoco delle pugna.*

IN a work of this character, a mere *Guide Book*, it is, of course inevitable that very much which is interesting and important should be omitted. Especially do I regret that I have been unable to deal with that most fascinating of subjects, the social life of the old Sienese. That is, however, too large a question to be even touched upon in the two or three pages still at my disposal, and I must be content to refer the reader to a previous work, *The "Ensamples" of Fra Filippo, a study of Mediaeval Siena.* There, taking as my text certain "tales with a purpose" told by an Augustinian friar of the Monastery of Lecceto, I have discussed the social state and beliefs of Italy, and especially of Siena, during the later Middle Ages and early Renaissance. I have sought to discover how men lived in

those far off days; what passions swayed them and what hopes consoled; how they ate, slept, dressed, gambled, laboured, loved and died; and, as I have cited my authorities at every step, I venture to hope that, whatever may be the shortcomings of the book itself, it will at least serve to indicate the principle sources of information on the questions treated.

Unquestionably, however, the best book to consult on the whole Sienese story is Professor Langton Douglas' new work, which, as I have already remarked, reached me while correcting my final proofs (1).

In this place, I merely propose to say a few words concerning the *Palio delle contrade,* an institution which is peculiar to Siena, and which is certainly one of the most curious and interesting of mediæval survivals.

(1) LANGTON DOUGLAS, *A History of Siena,* London, John Murray, 1902.

The following list of the titles of the various chapters will give some idea of the scope of the work.

I. Sena Vetus. II. The Birth of the Commune. III. A Nation of Shopkeepers. IV. The Struggle with the Feudal Nobles. V. The Struggle with Florence. VI. Ghibelline Siena. VII. Montaperti. VIII. Life in Old Siena. IX. The Rise and Fall of the Nine. X. The Twelve and the Reformers. XI. St Catherine of Siena. XII. The Age of San Bernardino and Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini. XIII. Pandolfo Petrucci. XIV. The Battle of Camollia. XV. The Siege of Siena. XVI. The Architecture of Siena. XVII. The Sculpture of Siena. XVIII. Sienese Painting. XIX. The Minor Arts in Siena. XX. Literature and Science in Siena.

Siena is, as I have said, divided into seventeen *contrade* or wards. Between these civic divisions a strong feeling of rivalry exists, which finds its vent in the races which are run twice yearly, on the 2nd July and the 16th August, in the historic Piazza del Campo (now Piazza Vittorio Emanuele). In these races each horse and jockey *(fantino)* represents a *contrada*. The prize is a *palio* or banner. In each race ten *contrade* compete, seven because it is their turn to do so *(d' obbligo)*, and three because their names have been drawn to take part in the race *(a sorte)*. The horses, which are distributed by lot, are ridden bare-backed, and each *fantino* wields the classic *nerbo*, which he uses rather as a weapon of offence than as a whip, The course is three times round the Piazza, the paved roadway, which forms its circumference, being covered with sand for the occasion, while wooden seats are erected in front of the shops which occupy the basements of the surrounding palaces.

Before the race, each horse is blessed and sprinkled with holy water in the chapel of its *contrada*.

Companies representing the several wards, clad in their respective liveries *(comparse)* march round the Piazza to the sound of music, and with waving banners. It is, in fact, a splendid pageant, bearing a distinctly mediæval stamp.

and in full harmony with the architecture and history of the town.

Moreover, the *Palio* has a very real religious significance. It was instituted in honour of the Virgin Mary, the patron saint of the city; and her figure is painted upon the banner which gives its name to the race.

The history of the festival is long and interesting, and, whether we regard it as a religious ceremony or as a development of the old games of *Pugna* and *Elmora,* can be traced back to the 13th century. (See my *Our Lady of August and the Palio of Siena).*

The *Palio* "is still a vital part of Sienese social life"; and certainly he who has not seen it does not know Siena.





PART II

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ARTISTIC

BY

LUCY OLCOTT



NOTE

In writing my half of this Guide, I have judged it best to preface the actual description of the city by a short introductory chapter on Sienese Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting. Owing to the limited space at my command these notices are of the briefest, and include a mention only of the more important artists; they do not pretend to form a critical essay, the writing of which was impossible within the limits of this Guide. Nevertheless, what little I have written will, I hope, suffice to arouse a greater interest in the somewhat neglected art of Siena, and also to counteract, in a measure, the undue attention which has hitherto been given—at least by the majority of visitors—to the Lombard Sodoma, at the expense of the far greater native Sienese painters. Those visitors who are desirous of enlarging their acquaintance with this delightful school of painting should consult Crowe and Cavalcaselle's account of the same, and more particularly Mr. Bernhard Berenson's essay on the Central Italian Painters of the Renaissance, which contains the most com-

prehensive and conclusive criticism yet written on the Sienese school. It is perhaps hardly necessary to advise the reader carefully to peruse Mr. Heywood's historical sketch before studying the monuments of the city, as a far more satisfactory idea of a people's art can be arrived at with some previous knowledge of its history.

I have to thank the Director of the Sienese Archives, Cav. Lisini, Sig. Casanova, and Mr. William Heywood, for various historical data. For many valuable suggestions upon architectural matters I am indebted to Mr. Bernard H. Webb. In regard to attributions and artistic matters in general, however, my best thanks are due to Mr. Bernhard Berenson and to Mr. F. Mason Perkins, both of whom have placed at my service the results of much of their wide knowledge and continued study of Sienese art.

Siena, 1902.

LUCY OLCOTT.

INTRODUCTORY

ARCHITECTURE

ALTHOUGH her many fortress-towers have long since been reduced to their present inconspicuous height, Siena still preserves, as does no other city in Italy, her mediæval aspect. Perhaps because her chequered political career and the consequent lack of wealth and enterprise had already partly stayed her hand, perhaps because the classic feeling of the Renaissance was slow to appeal to the more romantic nature of the Sienese, the city possesses comparatively few buildings of that period, the greater part of her architecture remaining to-day as it was produced during the 13th and 14th centuries—an architecture which, as was the case with few exceptions throughout all Italy, adopted Gothic ideas more as decorative features than as those of pure construction.

Several important Renaissance buildings

were erected in Siena, it is true, before 1500 (1) —more than one of them on Florentine rather than on Sienese designs,—but these represent isolated examples, rather than the general acceptance of a style which did not meet with anything resembling a truly popular approval in that city until the 16th century was well under way. In more respects than one, the conservative nature of the Sienese people, and their greatly reduced circumstances, were directly beneficial to the preservation of an architectural unity during those later centuries of corrupt and misguided taste, which resulted in such fatal and deplorable "restorations" and "rebuildings", white-washings and enlargements, in the more prosperous cities of Italy. Such rare examples of the Later Renaissance and Baroque styles as are to be found within her walls, still retain, to an extraordinary degree, much of the refinement and good taste which was, throughout Siena's history, so distinguishing a feature of her artistic creations.

Up to a very recent date, Siena has also escaped, to a remarkable extent, the still more dangerous effects of 20th century "improvements". Unfortunately, that craze for unnecessary and ill-advised municipal adornment which

(1) Such as the Loggia del Papa, the Palazzo Nerucci, the Palazzo del Governo, the Palazzo dei Diavoli, the Palazzo Spannocchi and the Palazzo di San Galgano.

has already proved so ruinous to the artistic appearance of many another Italian town, has lately given signs of a much-to-be-regretted acceptance even here (1). It can but be sincerely hoped that this contagious infection may be checked, before it be too late, by those of Siena's citizens who still have at heart her glorious record of a long-departed time.

Of the early architectures of Central Italy, there are scant traces in Siena. Some few and unimportant Etruscan tombs, unearthed some years ago outside the Porta Camollia, are all that can be said to date from the time of the city's early origin. Of Roman work (2) there remain some vestiges of brick construction in different places—on the Via Cavour near the Palazzo Tantucci, and in the west wall of the Palazzo del Magnifico. At one of these points there exists a fragment of a Roman inscription; and still another, preserved to us entire, is now embedded in the Porta Romana. The tablet on

(1) The recent disfigurements of the once charming Viale Curtatone, and a few of the recently erected edifices outside the Porta Camollia, may be taken as excellent and painful examples of this modern tendency.

In their inexplicable hatred of trees, also, many of the Sienese are already rivalling their like-minded compatriots in other parts of Italy. The Passeggio della Lizza and the above-mentioned Viale Curtatone, not to speak of other examples, have been deprived of much additional beauty by the needless cutting down of trees and shrubs.

(2) For a detailed study of Roman Siena, see P. Rossi, *Le Origini di Siena*.

the Via Cavour, bearing the somewhat enigmatical words VERO ET VALE, is to be seen inserted in the wall to the right of the shoemaker's shop, opposite the Palazzo Tantucci. The brick work above it, and that now forming the central portion of the tower opposite, was probably a part of the Northern Gate of Roman Siena (1). The tablet on the Porta Romana is inscribed:

SILVANO. SAC.
C. VITRICIUS
MEMOR. VI. VIR
AUGUSTAL
VO. SOL.

It was put up in honour of the rustic deity Silvanus, by a certain Vitricius, who evidently belonged to the cult of the deified Augustus.

The Lombard-Romanesque work of the 12th and preceding centuries is represented by the brick façades of two little-known churches (2). That of Sta. Maria di Betlem (3), outside the

(1) The southern entrance to the city was probably through the Porta Aurea—a gateway situated near the present Arco di Sant' Agostino. The east gate was somewhere near the church of S. Martino, and the west gate at the top of the slope which leads from the Via di Città to Porta Fontebranda.

(2) Remains of Romanesque work are also visible in the old church of Sant' Ansano in Castel-Vecchio, possibly at one time the principal church of early mediæval Siena. The remnants of the ancient portal of the neighbouring church of S. Quirico are also essentially Romanesque in character.

(3) This church, with its annexed hospital, was once a dependance of the Bishopric of Bethlehem, which was instituted after the First Crusade in 1099, and which, at the beginning of the 13th century, was transferred from Bethlehem to the diocese of Auxerre in France. The above-mentioned church, together with others of the Sienese diocese, was conferred upon the

Porta Romana, is particularly remarkable for its simplicity and beauty of proportion. That of Sta. Chiara, a suppressed convent-church on the Via Pispini, now used as a military magazine, is scarcely less interesting, although, to the best of our knowledge, it has hitherto escaped the notice of architectural writers on Siena. The interiors of both these churches have been altered at various times, and their original plans entirely changed. Although no secular building remains to us in its Romanesque entirety, there are vestiges of this period still to be recognized in occasional weather-beaten lions' heads and other fragmentary bits of sculptural ornament, and in various entrance-ways, windows, and remains of stone foundation walls scattered through different parts of the city.

As the Gothic system of architecture was definitely introduced into Siena by the advent of the Cistercian monks who founded the near-lying Abbey of San Galgano (1), it would be advisable that visitors to the city make an early

Bishop of Bethlehem by a bull of Clement IV, dated May 11th, 1266. The church is said to have been founded in 1133. The earliest documentary mention is one of 1189. In the course of time, the patrimony passed into the hands of the Piccolomini family, to whom it was assigned as a benefice. See Cavallucci, *Storia dell' Arte,* vol. II. p. 195.

(1) The first Gothic buildings in Italy, with the exception of S. Francesco at Assisi (begun in 1228 by a French master), were erected by the Cistercians, the earliest being: Fossanuova 1187-1208, Valvisciola 1203-1217, and Casamari 1203-1217. San Galgano, an outgrowth of the church at Casamari, was commenced in 1218, and finished in 1306.

pilgrimage to the beautiful ruins of that church. A comparison can thus be made between the purity of this early French Gothic and the work done on the Cathedral and throughout the city, and they will the better be enabled to realize the differences between Italian and Northern (or French) Gothic—although S. Galgano itself shows not only the restless ideals of the Gothic workman, but also much of the solidity and broadness of the then departing Romanesque. The Italian mason never grasped the northern idea of mysterious and endless height, of walls which are not walls but pillars of strength to receive the weight of the roof and to support the real walls of glass or light masonry. His ideals were rather those of solidity, simplicity, and space. His classical inheritance, always alive in Byzantine and Romanesque work, kept his interiors of a moderate height, and more spacious than those of his northern brethren; it caused him to string his façades with horizontal lines, and to leave broad wall surfaces, the bareness of which he relieved with bright frescoes or with alternate rows of coloured marble. Nevertheless, despite these differences, the Sienese temperament was in many ways more closely allied to that of the North than was that of other Italian cities—Dante himself once irefully likened them to the French—and Italianized Gothic, once having obtained a foot-hold, seems to have

spread with incredible rapidity, developing there a character peculiarly Sienese. So popular did this pointed style become, and so anxious was each family of note to possess at least one prominent palace of its own, that, even at the present day, there is no other city which contains so large a number of Gothic buildings as does Siena. Most important among all the edifices of this greatest period of her architectural activity are the world-famous Duomo, and the scarcely less interesting Palazzo Pubblico.

Although in plan obviously influenced by the Abbey of S. Galgano, the Cathedral of Siena is far less Gothic in feeling than is that of Orvieto, and retains many Romanesque elements in its construction and method of decoration, not to speak of its purely Romanesque campanile. A detailed description of this church, commenced during the second quarter of the 13th century, and of the various vicissitudes connected with its erection, is reserved for a subsequent part of this Guide.

The Palazzo Pubblico is, in a way, typical of many of the Sienese Gothic palaces (1). Its lower storey is of travertine and the upper walls

(1) At the end of the 13th century, while that palace was in process of construction, a law was enacted by the State which required that all houses facing on the Piazza del Campo should have windows similar to those of the Palazzo della Signoria, as it was then called. It naturally followed that other palaces were built after the approved pattern.

of brick, with many clusters of small pointed openings divided by white marble shafts. This brick construction, which is so characteristic a feature of Sienese palaces, probably came into general use early in the 14th century, as the "Palazzo della Signoria" slowly reached completion; and finally, almost supplanting the earlier work in travertine, it gave the architect far greater opportunity to decorate his façade. However, it is interesting to note that the earliest of the Gothic palaces were probably built almost entirely of travertine, with undivided openings. Remnants of such fortress-like palaces may still be seen on the Via Stalloreggi, Nos. 4, 12, and 11, and on Via S. Martino, No. 9. The Palazzo Tolomei, also of travertine, and frequently cited as the earliest of Sienese palaces, its assigned year being 1205, cannot possibly, as it now stands, date entirely from that period (1). Of the buildings in brick and stone, probably modelled after the Palazzo Pubblico, the most interesting are the Palazzo Sansedoni, the Palazzo Grottanelli, and the imposing Salimbeni and Saracini palaces. The Palazzo Buonsignori is a splendid

(1) There is every reason to suppose that the earlier palace was partly, or even wholly, destroyed in 1265 after an insurrection of the Guelphs; but more convincing arguments as to its real age are the elaborate window traceries of the upper storeys. The ground floor may possibly date from the first half of the 13th century, but the remainder of the palace undoubtedly belongs to a far later period.

example of the highly decorative effect obtained by the use of brick alone (1). It would be easy to dwell in detail upon a score of other palaces scarcely less interesting than those already mentioned, but lack of space forbids.

Several Sienese architects of the 13th century, sometimes difficult to differentiate from the sculptors of the period, are mentioned by name in the public books of Siena; but it is useless to speak of them here, as their work can seldom be exactly identified, consisting, as it frequently did, in the erection of various fortifications, gates, *bottini,* fountains, etc. During the following century a few names stand out with some prominence. That of *Lorenzo Maitani* will ever be associated with the splendid façade of Orvieto Cathedral (begun in 1310), a work which can scarcely be sufficiently praised. *Camaino di Crescentino,* during the second decade of the century, held the post of head architect of the Duomo of Siena—that is, when the present Baptistery and the superimposed choir of the cathedral were first building. He is also known to have been concerned, in 1298, with the construction of the Fonte Nuova. His son, *Tino di Camaino,* held the same position on the works of the Duomo for a few months only; his work, both

(1) There is hardly a palace in Siena which has not suffered restoration or rebuilding at different periods; it is therefore impossible to assign the majority of buildings to any precise date.

as an architect and as a sculptor, is of more importance in Pisa and in Naples. *Angelo di Ventura,* while head architect of the Commune, designed the Porta Tufi, which was finished in 1325, and shortly afterwards commenced to rebuild the Porta Romana—then Porta S. Martino. Still another Sienese architect who laboured much in Naples was *Lando di Pietro.* When, in 1339, the citizens of his native city decided to erect a new and vaster cathedral, incorporating the older edifice, they called upon him, as their most famous son, to act as head architect of the projected building.

As has already been remarked, the Architecture of the Renaissance found but a tardy welcome in Siena. Passing over such tentative and transitional work as that of *Sano di Matteo,* we find in *Antonio Federighi* (active 1444-1490) tbe first real exponent of Renaissance architecture in this city. Delicacy and refinement were the chief qualities of his work; and it is to him that the beautiful church of Sta. Maria delle Nevi —one of the most charming of Renaissance buildings in Siena—is probably due. A more certain of his creations is the almost equally charming church of the Palazzo dei Diavoli. With Pope Pius II and the advent of the Florentine architects Bernado Rosellino and Giuliano di Maiano, the tide of Sienese thought turned to-

ward a more complete realization of Renaissance ideals. To *Francesco di Giorgio* (1439-1502), one of Siena's most renowned citizens, we can ascribe no authenticated building in this city. Painter and sculptor, architect, and commentator of Vitruvius, military and hydraulic engineer, his fame and popularity was second only to that of Leonardo da Vinci. He is better known, however, as an engineer, as the inventor of mines and various contrivances for war, than as an architect. Nevertheless, what little authenticated architectural work he has left, at Jesi and Ancona as well as at Cortona (1), shows great refinement and harmony of proportions, although, as frequently happens in Sienese work, it lacks something of the vigour of the Florentine school of architecture. We may here add that Sienese architecture of the Renaissance in general, although distinguished from that of the Florentines by a greater delicacy of detail and execution, falls considerably behind it in initiative ability and breadth of conception. The achievements of Francesco di Giorgio's pupil *Giacomo Cozzarelli* (1453-1515) may be gauged by the present convent of the Osservanza, and the somewhat formless Palazzo del Magnifico. What

(1) The church of Sta. Maria del Calcinaio, near that city, Francesco's masterpiece in building, surely entitles him to rank among the greatest architects of the *Quattrocento*.

the eager and determined spirit of the Renaissance could achieve, when embodied in an architect possessing a nicely balanced and discerning mind, is demonstrated in the work of *Baldassarre Peruzzi* (1481-1537). His classicism is more Greek in quality than is that of any of his contemporaries, and is seldom either exaggerated or misapplied. One must, however, go to Rome to know him well, for, apart from the Palazzo Celsi (now known as the Palazzo Pollini), but little in Siena can be assigned to Peruzzi himself. Nevertheless, a considerable quantity of work shows his direct influence—such as the courtyard of the house of St. Catherine, the house front, No. 24, on the Via Baldassarre Peruzzi, and again, in a later development, the Villa Sta. Colomba, in the neighbourhood of the city.

With the Sienese pupils of Peruzzi, many of them nameless, the architects of Siena ceased, from an artistic standpoint, to be of any great importance. It is, nevertheless, interesting to note that their services were sometimes called upon by foreign princes, as when Henri II employed Girolamo Bellarmati to superintend the building up of Hâvre-de-Grace. And, at a later period, they extended the sphere of their activity not only throughout the countries of Europe, but as far as England itself (1). Of

(1) Giuliano Pericciuoli lived some time in England, during the 17th century.

later Renaissance architecture in Siena, the Palazzo Tantucci (now part of the Monte dei Paschi) (1) and the façade of S. Martino are excellent examples of two different periods, while the church of Sta. Maria Provenzano is an extraordinarily temperate specimen of the Baroque style.

The surprising architectural wealth of Siena, even as she stands to-day, has never met with sufficient recognition on the part of architectural or other writers, and the majority of visitors, in their hasty passage through this beautiful city, seldom stay to consider it from other than a purely picturesque point of view. For those, however, who are actuated by a more purely artistic interest in brick and stone, Siena has endless half-hidden treasure to offer.

(1) The officials of the Monte de' Paschi not only occupy the Palazzo Tantucci, the building to the north of the square, but also the Palazzo Salimbeni, on its eastern side (see page 43 *supra*). It is the latter palace which gives its name to the piazza.

SCULPTURE

As early as 1212 we have record in Siena of a corporation of *Maestri di Pietra,* which term was used to designate those who were not only sculptors, but often architects or builders as well. It was not, however, until the advent of Niccolò and Giovanni Pisano, and the consequent introduction of a greater technical facility and a more careful study of both natural and classic models, that a really distinctive school of Sienese sculpture rose into being. From this new-born school craftsmen went out, during the subsequent half century, to all parts of Italy (1), and it is in strange cities, far rather than in their native home, that we are best enabled to study their productions. Such sculptors as remained in Siena herself appear to have been more occupied with various architectural duties connected with the construction of the Cathedral, and of other buildings, than in the exercise of their chosen profession—although sculptural work for the decoration of the original

(1) Even Florence possessed no true school of her own until the coming of Andrea Pisano, and freely drew on Siena for much of the work she ordered.

façade of that great church was doubtless begun at an early period. Of a certain *Ramo di Paganello,* who was famous in his day, we know only that he worked on this same façade. *Goro di Gregorio* has left us more certain proof of his talent in the sculptured tomb of San Cerbone at Massa Marittima, near Siena. In 1330, *Agostino di Giovanni* and *Angelo di Ventura,* both of whom have been immortalized by Vasari, carved for the city of Arezzo one of its finest monuments—the tomb of the warrior-bishop Guido Tarlati, the original plan of which was long falsely attributed to Giotto. None of their work in Siena can be identified, but Maestro Agostino's son, *Giovanni d' Agostino,* has left us a small tabernacle, still to be seen in the Oratorio di S. Bernardino. A contemporary of the above-named masters, *Tino di Camaino*—that interesting but somewhat heavy follower of the Pisani—evidently enjoyed a wide-spread reputation, if we may judge from the number of sculptured tombs which he was called upon to furnish for various famous personages of his time. In Pisa is his tomb of the Emperor Henry VII; in the Cathedral and in Sta. Maria Novella at Florence, are those of the two bishops, Orso and Aliotti. In Naples, where he spent the last fifteen years of his life, he erected several similar and equally important monuments. *Cellino di Nese,* who passed much of his life in Pistoia, carved, in 1337,

the tomb of Messer Cino, the famous jurist-poet and friend of Dante. This was probably the first of a series of secular monuments to scholars and professors which later became so popular in Bologna and in other cities of Italy, and of which there is an interesting example in the University at Siena. Indeed, the greater part of the Sienese work of this century, with the exception of that on the cathedrals of Siena and Orvieto, is limited to the carving of sepulchral monuments, both of a religious and secular type. It is still to be proved whether the beautiful sculptures in low relief which adorn the façade of Orvieto, are of Florentine or Sienese execution. It is more probable that they are the work of the latter school, embodying as they do the greatest achievement of Italian-Gothic sculpture. *Lorenzo Maitani,* already mentioned as the architect of the façade, has of late been accredited with their authorship (1), but it seems preferable to attribute them to the school as a whole, as they distinctly show the work of different hands. But to whomsoever they may ultimately be given, there can be no doubt as to their having been produced under the predominating influence of the Pisani.

Towards the end of the 14th century, the Sienese school of sculpture passed into a period

(1) See Burckhardt's *Cicerone*, 8th edition. Vol. III, p. 396.

of decadence unrelieved by any important work. The apparition of *Jacopo della Quercia* (1374-1428) is therefore the more startling and unexpected. Arising, as he did, at a time when the grand traditions of the earlier *Trecento* were already on the wane, he re-incarnated much that was characteristic of them in his work, adding at the same time something of the more profoundly naturalistic ideals and the higher technical perfection of the awakening Renaissance. The breadth and energy of his style—curiously divided as it is between Gothic and Renaissance —justify the appellation which has been bestowed on him of the " Precursor of Michelangelo ", to whom he stands in closer relation than to any other sculptor of his own or of the following centuries (1). With none of the minute and oft-times exaggerated attention to detail bestowed on their work by so many of his Florentine contemporaries—such as Ghiberti and Donatello—he succeeded in imbuing his figures with a life and movement combined with a grace and beauty peculiarly his own. One of the earliest of his works was the tomb of Ilaria del Carretto at Lucca, without doubt one of the most splendid existing monuments of the Earlier Renaissance. In Siena, his work is represented

(1) A study of the fine sculptures on the façade of S. Petronio at Bologna is sufficient to prove the truth of this assertion.

by the sadly mutilated, but still beautiful, ruins of the Fonte Gaia, now preserved in the Opera del Duomo, and by the relief of the Expulsion of Zacharias, and other single figures, on the Baptismal Font of S. Giovanni—a work which owes its original design, as a whole, to his own hand.

When the competition for the bronze doors of S. Giovanni in Florence took place, two of the competitors were Sienese—Jacopo della Quercia and his pupil *Francesco Valdambrini*. *Cino di Bartolo* was another pupil, but nothing is now known of his work save that he aided his master on the doors of S. Petronio at Bologna. *Pietro del Minella* was an assistant of more importance. He laboured with his master on the Font in S. Giovanni, and in the Duomo executed his share of several works which will be mentioned later, among them being one of the interesting *graffito* pavements of that church. Still another sculptor who worked on the Baptistery Font was *Goro di Neroccio*. More important than any of the above-named, however, as far as the number and value of their creations are concerned, are the members of the *Turini* family—Turino di Sano, and his three sons, Barna, Lorenzo, and Giovanni —sculptors and bronze-casters deserving of far more notice than has hitherto been accorded them. Contemporaries of Quercia, and to some extent influenced by his powerful genius, they

nevertheless display a considerable amount of originality in their work, which is, as a rule, purely Sienese in its feeling for grace and in its pleasing expression. Their combined talents may be judged in two of the bas-reliefs on the above-mentioned Font of S. Giovanni. To Giovanni himself are due several of the single figures on the same Font, the fine holy-water basin in the Palazzo Pubblico, and, in all probability, the bronze wolf on the column in front of the same building (1).

Whatever may have been Jacopo della Quercia's influence on his immediate followers, he can scarcely be said to have founded a real or lasting school in Siena (2). Of the artistic generation which came directly after his, only one sculptor can be rightly classed as showing any influence of his manner—*Antonio Federighi* (active 1444-1490). Far less gifted than was Quercia, Federighi still shows at times something of his energy of expression, although more often his sculpture is marked by a certain over-developed softness that was conspicuously absent from the older master's grander style (3). One of Federighi's chief claims to attention lies in the fact that he was the first of Sienese artists

(1) By two unknown, but much closer followers of Quercia, we possess works in the churches ot S. Martino and Sta. Margherita.

(2) In Lucca, Jacopo left behind him one of his best pupils, Matteo Civitali, of whose work there are many examples still in that city.

(3) As in the statues on the Loggia dei Nobili.

after Quercia's day, to become imbued with the "classic" spirit of Renaissance, although this, perhaps, is even more obvious, and certainly more purely expressed, in his architectural, than in his sculptural, work.

Older and younger contemporaries of Federighi were Lorenzo di Pietro, usually known as "Vecchietta", Neroccio di Landi, and Giovanni di Stefano. *Vecchietta* (1412-1480) shows no sign of Quercia's influence, but seems early to have fallen under that of Donatello, of whom he became at a later period a somewhat exaggerated follower (1). Although his more mature work represents the very antithesis to that of Federighi, he is in no wise less important as a Sienese representative of the Renaissance. Dominated by utterly different ideals, and employing a technique equally dissimilar, there exists between his minute naturalistic style and the broader and freer one of Federighi, a difference somewhat similar to that which exists between Donatello and Jacopo della Quercia. *Neroccio di Landi* (1447-1500), painter and sculptor —as was Vecchietta,—belongs to the foremost rank of Siena's artists, despite the extraordinary neglect with which he has hitherto been treated. Probably a pupil of Vecchietta, his work in sculpture is nevertheless far removed from that

(1) As an example of this exaggeration, note the striking bronze figure of the Risen Christ in the Hospital church.

of his master both in style and spirit. That, as has recently been suggested, he was a follower of Federighi, whom, by the way, he far surpassed in nobility and refined grace, is very difficult to believe; and as far as he may be said to have chosen any model for imitation, Quercia's is the only work that we may name as such. Of his beautiful statues in the Duomo and the churches of Monagnese and of St. Catherine, particular mention will be made when speaking of those buildings. *Giovanni di Stefano* is another comparatively unknown sculptor of this period. His is the charming statue of Sant' Ansano in the Chapel of St. John in the Cathedral (1), and two of the bronze angels on the high-altar. Nor does the versatile *Francesco di Giorgio* deserve to be forgotten under this head. His two bronze angels, companions to those of Stefano, do not fall behind them in beauty or in grace. With *Giacomo Cozzarelli,* Francesco's favourite pupil, the list of Siena's *Quattrocento* sculptors comes to an end. Creations of his hand—he worked in terra-cotta, wood, and bronze—are not uncommon in his native town, the finest of them being, perhaps, the hitherto unknown statues in the church of Sta. Lucia—a Bishop and Sta. Lucia herself (the latter much "restored"). A better known work(2)

(1) The beautiful chapel itself was built on his designs.

(2) Most certainly not by Neroccio to whom it has recently been ttributed by the *Cicerone* (vol. II, p. 463).

is the kneeling figure of the Apostle John in the Opera del Duomo. But above all is this sculptor famous for the fine torch and banner-holders on the Palazzo del Magnifico—superb examples of the decorative use of bronze.

Lorenzo di Mariano, known as *Marrina* (1476-1534), flourished in Siena after her school of eclectics was well under way. Retaining the innate Sienese delicacy of touch, and having lost the nobility and simplicity of her older artists, he often spent his efforts in carefully finished and overburdened detail (1). But whatever may have been his faults, lack of refinement and of decorative feeling were not among them, and, of its kind, his work can but rank very high. Marrina may virtually be said to have been the last of Siena's sculptors of any real importance. Of Beccafumi's bronze work no special mention need be made.

As was the case with her architects and painters, Siena's stone-cutters never fell, during the centuries that followed, into the disorderly extravagance that marked the history of other schools, and such late sculpture as she turned out, although generally quite devoid of any interest, possesses at least the merit of a comparative sobriety not to be found in the mass of contemporary Italian work.

(1) The reredos in the church of Fontegiusta shows him at his best.

PAINTING

FEW schools of painting have met with such neglect as has that of Siena—a neglect which may in part be accounted for by the extreme conservatism of her art. For, although the work of the Sienese School, properly so called, may be said to have extended over a period of two full centuries—and those the most important in the history of Italian Painting—it virtually retained throughout that time the traditions and the technical practices of the Middle Ages. Much has been said and written as to the conservative nature of the Sienese people, but to satisfactorily explain or analyze it would be an almost impossible task. It is sufficient for our present purpose to accentuate the importance of its influence on Siena's art. It has been frequently urged that all inhabitants of mountain towns or districts possess in common this same peculiarity of an excessive conservatism, as a natural result of their geographical situation; but when regarding Siena in connection with her art history, her geographical position can count for but little. No more inaccessible than she is to-day, her artists must, notwithstanding

the bitter rivalry between the two cities, have frequently visited Florence, and have been well acquainted with the masterpieces of Florentine art, from those of Giotto to those of the Pollajuoli, Verocchio, and Ghirlandaio. However this may be, with but few and partial exceptions, they derived no direct benefit or inspiration from this acquaintance—even the powerful example of Giotto failing to leave more than a passing impress upon them. The Sienese State itself, far from encouraging any foreign influences within its walls, took good care, not only jealously to guard such great men as it happened to possess, but even to make difficult the establishing of foreign artists within the city (1). The Sienese painter, even in the 15th century, thus retained to a greater or less degree the ideas and the methods of work of his fore-father Duccio, and continued painting visions of ideally beautiful Madonnas and of unsubstantial Saints —often stiff-jointed and comparatively flat—long after his contemporaries had abandoned mere Story-telling and dreamy Sentiment, and were seeking to portray the new and sterner Naturalistic ideals of the Renaissance. But despite these evident defects—if, after all, we may term them such—the pictures which the Sienese

(1) A clause of the *Breve dell' Arte de' Pittori Senesi* imposed a heavy fine, practically prohibitive, on each painter coming to reside in Siena—a curious law, but one very characteristic of the city.

painters produced are none the less great and delightful. It is only for those who seek solely the more material values of modelling and chiaroscuro that they have no charm. The Sienese artists possessed a love of colour equalled only by that of the painters of Venice, and a peculiar feeling for line which entitles them to a place beside the Japanese. Having combined with these two gifts all the elemental delicacy of the Sienese temperament and the unspoilt simplicity of mediaeval sentiment, they painted pictures which have never been surpassed in pure loveliness and decorative effect. Surely, therefore, although they may have failed where the Florentine, the Veronese, and the Paduan, succeeded, the credit that is due to their success in their own chosen field need not thereby be either diminished or withheld. After all, have we not rather reason to be grateful than otherwise for those very limitations which alone made such an art a possibility? It is difficult under all circumstances to grasp the ideals of another age, and particularly is it difficult for our modern mind to understand and appreciate such artists of the Middle Ages as were the Sienese—but the aesthetic value of their work must remain unchanged throughout all time.

Many words have been spent over the question as to whether the Sienese school of

Painting antedates the Florentine, or *vice versa*. Both Cimabue and Guido da Siena have had their partisans and supporters, claiming now for the one and now for the other precedence in the honour of having created a new school of art. But the misty personality of Cimabue, representative more of a group of different painters and of an artistic movement than of an individuality, and the unending discussion as to whether Guido painted his famous signed Madonna in 1221 or 1281 (1), have prevented both sides from arriving at a satisfactory conclusion. To many the much-vexed question continues to be of absorbing interest, to others, however, it has lost much of its earlier importance, at least as far as it concerns the formation of the two great schools in question. Whatever may have been the relation of "Cimabue" and of Guido to their contemporaries, neither can be said to have had any direct connection with the formation of a lasting school of art. Even granting that Cimabue may be entitled to all the merit that has been conferred upon him as a regenerator, it is certainly to Giotto that the credit of having founded the school of Florence, as we know it, is rightly due. The position of *Guido da Siena* is scarcely dissimilar to that of Cimabue, and it is sufficient praise to allow that

(1) There are critical reasons for accepting the latter date.

among the various painters who in his day continued in the traditional and debased methods of the Italo-Byzantine craftsmen, he was prominent for the superior quality of his work and for a return to better models (1). Far rather than Guido, the real founder of the Sienese school was *Duccio di Buoninsegna* (active 1278-1319). Although we know nothing of his early life, his style is so purely Byzantine as to lead us to suppose that he acquired his early training from some unusually fine Byzantine master, possibly at Constantinople itself. The work produced by his Italian predecessors and most of his contemporaries appears rough and uncouth when compared to his compositions, glowing with colour and almost faultless in execution. Uninfluenced by the new methods of Giotto, he was equally independent of the Pisani, notwithstanding the fact that they were working in his very town, and he remained throughout his life true to the Byzantine style. Adopting the same types that had been in use for centuries, he imbued them with a life and beauty all his own, clothing them in colours so rich and varied that his panels produce the effect of sumptuous mosaics. His compositions surpassed those of his contemporaries not only in the balance of

(1) It must be recalled to mind that in Central Italy the art of painting had at this period sunk to the production of works that were mere caricatures of the earlier Byzantine models.

their parts, but also because of his power to create effects of space and even of distance. In his "feeling for line" he displayed a characteristic which became one of the most marked and important features of the school of Sienese painting. Without any of the power of generalization with which Giotto was endowed, he depicted his subjects with an expressiveness which places him at once in the ranks of the greatest Illustrators of the World.

Such painting as Duccio's so appealed to the colour-loving Sienese, and his story-telling faculties so satisfied their not over critical intellectual demands, that the artists who followed were quite overpowered by the example he had set them. As was the case with Duccio himself, so it was to a less degree with the entire school. The naturalistic influences of Giotto and the Pisani could obtain but little hold on a people for whom there existed so entirely sympathetic a style, and are apparent only to a slight degree in the work of the greatest of Duccio's pupils, *Simone Martini* (1285?-1344). Having freed himself from many of the more purely Byzantine elements of his master's style (1), Simone became even more graceful of line, more gay of colour, less stern and hieratic of type. In his painting

(1) *Segna di Bonaventura* and *Ugolino*, Duccio's closest pupils, retained throughout their career the more strictly Byzantine spirit of his work.

a new element appears—a greater love of life and a more subtle depicting of its joys and passions. But to him it was the brighter side of existence that most appealed—its darker tragedies repelled rather than attracted him, and his paintings are peopled almost invariably with the most serene and unruffled of saintly beings. Simone's love of resplendent colour, and that passion for curving and flowing line which makes of his compositions such marvellous and unrivalled patterns, led him to pay far more attention to decorative effect than to the equally important problems of movement and of form. Yet he was not lacking in the possession of either of these last-named qualities, as the exquisite Annunciation in Florence, and the wonderful frescoes of the Life of St. Martin, in Assisi, respectively attest. Although Duccio was the founder of his school, Simone was, far rather than he, the first of truly Sienese masters—masters who continued to repeat, each according to his ability and nature, what Simone first had said (1).

Pietro Lorenzetti (active 1305-1348), Simone's

(1) Simone Martini and his assistant and imitator *Lippo Memmi* (died 1357) were both miniature painters. A possible example of the former's work is an illustration in a manuscript Virgil, now in the Ambrosian Library at Milan. Another miniaturist of the same period, and one of the utmost delicacy, was *Niccolò di Ser Sozzo Tegliacci*. A beautiful Assumption of the Virgin, by his hand, is to be found on the first page of the *Caleffo dell' Assunta*, in the Sienese Archives.

follower, and *Ambrogio Lorenzetti* (active 1323-1348), his younger brother and pupil, each felt more keenly the influences of Giovanni Pisano and Giotto. Their style combines something of these great masters' sense of plastic values with the intensity of feeling and decorative grace so characteristic of the Sienese. Both possessing a passionate love for beauty, Pietro's types are more stern than those of Ambrogio. He returned rather to the models of Duccio than to those of Simone. The painting of both brothers can be fairly well studied in Siena, especially that of Ambrogio, the greater genius of the two. To know the finest of Pietro's works one must go to Arezzo, or to Assisi, where he painted that most exquisite fresco of the Madonna with her Babe between SS. Francis and Louis. It is in Assisi, also, that Pietro is seen at his worst, in the Scenes from the Passion—frescoes wherein all significant and lasting artistic qualities are subordinated to the expression of exaggerated emotion. This falling away from the high ideals of much of his painting is paralleled in some of the works of his brother. Commissioned to paint for the Sienese Commune the histories of Good and Bad Government, Ambrogio, instead of concisely presenting, as would have Giotto, the essential idea of his subject in a few unmistakable allegorical figures, covered vast wall-spaces with endless incident, complete in every detail,

employing as a final explanatory touch the use of inscriptions. Considering Ambrogio's immense gifts, it is the more to be regretted that he ever became a mere retailer of facts. What this great artist was really capable of when not carried away by the Sienese passion for Illustration, is well shown by such panels as that of the Annunciation in the Sienese Academy, and of the Virgin and Child in the Sacristy of S. Francesco, not to mention other examples of his genius.

Doubtless the greatest of the Lorenzetti's followers was the nameless artist who painted the frescoes in the Campo Santo at Pisa, until recently attributed to Orcagna and to Pietro himself. The Last Judgment, the Triumph of Death, and the Thebaïd, are all by the same hand, and are painted by one who not only possessed, in no small degree, the power to portray both form and movement, but also to clothe his mediæval thought in most realistic garments.

After the Lorenzetti came the fall. Never again did the Sienese artists quite attain to the greatness of the early school. *Barna* (flourishing in 1370), a follower of Simone and *Lippo Memmi*[1],

[1] Of Lippo Memmi's work in Siena but a single example remains to us—the charming Madonna del Popolo in the church of the Servi. To know him at his best one must go to San Gimignano and to Orvieto. The cathedral of the latter town possesses one of the master's most important creations—the Virgin of Mercy in the Cappella del Corporale.

Bartolo di Fredi (active 1353-dead 1410) and *Andrea Vanni* (1332-1414) who grew out of Simone and the Lorenzetti, carried on its traditions, and saved it from falling into absolute decadence. They were strong artists, each in his way, and not altogether lacking in originality. *Taddeo di Bartolo* (about 1362-1422), a pupil of Bartolo di Fredi, is important not only for the high level of his work but also for the number of his pupils. His painting, now Gothic and now unconsciously Renaissance in sentiment, shows a natural feeling for structural significance and, to a lesser extent, for movement. At the time he flourished there were but few artists of note in the field, which may account, in part at least, for his having been called to so many cities of Italy. He painted in Genoa, in Pisa, in Volterra and in San Gimingnano, in Montepulciano, in Perugia, and in Padua (1). His influence was widespread, and by no means confined to the painters of his own town.

Stefano di Giovanni, called *Sassetta,* was born in 1392 and died in 1450. His precise artistic parentage is still an unsolved and most difficult problem, although it is evident that he derived some inspiration from Taddeo. In spirit and style, however, he returned rather to his earlier

(1) Both in Montepulciano and in Perugia some of his most important works yet remain.

predecessors. Little of his work can be seen in Siena itself, but one of his most important panels is preserved in the convent of the Osservanza, a short distance from the town.

Among the painters who came under Taddeo's influence may be mentioned, as the most important, Domenico di Bartolo, Sano di Pietro, and Lorenzo Vecchietta. *Domenico di Bartolo* (1400-1449?) was one of the few Sienese who tried to keep abreast of their Florentine contemporaries, but failing to comprehend the essential spirit of their ideals, his success was of the slightest. His frescoes in the Spedale di Sta. Maria della Scala, although full of detailed interest, lack the touch of genius, and remain but the records, pleasing it is true, of a number of events in the history of the hospital. Like all his countrymen he was more at home when painting purely religious subjects, as can be seen in his fine polyptych at Asciano and in the large altar-piece at Perugia. *Sano di Pietro* (1406-1481) was not only a pupil of Taddeo but strongly influenced by Sassetta as well. Far from being "a dulled and heavy echo of Fra Angelico" (1), he is one of the most charming and winsome of artists; his round-eyed Madonnas and angels are the very embodiment of religious sentiment. His colour is sometimes brilliant, but always

(1) *Siena, Its Architecture and Art*, by Gilbert Hastings.

delicate and light in tone; and he clothes his beings in undulating draperies that remind us of Gentile da Fabriano and Lorenzo Monaco. *Vecchietta* (1412-1480) already mentioned as having fallen as a sculptor under the influence of Donatello, appears likewise in his painting to have been inspired by many of the new longings of the Renaissance. This influence was most powerfully felt toward the end of his life, when he painted the large, and unfortunately ruined, panel for the Hospital—now in the Academy. His earlier work, the best of which is to be found in some ruined frescoes in the same Hospital (Deposito delle Donne), shows him to be an artist possessed of fine ideas of composition, and a love of soft and delicate colouring. Nevertheless, in most of this early work, his figures tend to excessive dryness of form and to abnormal proportions. A somewhat later picture is the fine triptych at Pienza, which combines the new feeling with all the old Sienese love of gorgeous surface and decorative effect.

The traditional and tenaciously beloved technique and sentiment of the Sienese school were thus gradually infused with a new life, which resulted in the production of some of the most charming painting the world has ever known. Out of Vecchietta came *Francesco di Giorgio* (1439-1502), *Neroccio di Landi* (1447-1500), and *Benvenuto di Giovanni* (1436-1518?). The first

two mentioned worked together for a space, and for the unpractised eye it is somewhat difficult to distinguish between them, although Francesco's colour is apt to be of a chalkiness that is quite characteristic. *Neroccio,* however, was by far the greater painter of the two—indeed he may justly be called one of the greatest Sienese masters of the 15th century. We have already mentioned his remarkably fine creations as a sculptor; in regard to his work as a painter we cannot do better than to quote Mr. Berenson's own words:.... "he was Simone come to life again. Simone's singing line, Simone's endlessly refined feeling for beauty, Simone's charm and grace—you lose but little of them in Neroccio's panels, and you get what to most of us counts more, ideals and emotions more akin to our own, with quicker suggestions of freshness and joy"(1). Of *Francesco di Giorgio*'s paintings, which influenced to no small extent those of his contemporaries, there is at least one panel which deserves a special mention, embodying as it does much of the classical feeling so essentially a part of his nature—the Adoration of the Shepherds in the church of S. Domenico. *Benvenuto di Giovanni,* although living well into the 16th century, retained not only the brilliant colouring of his ancestors, but continued to finish his pic-

(1) *The Central Italian Painters of the Renaissance.*

tures with such care that the surfaces appear almost to be of enamel. The sentiment of much of his work, however, falls far below that of Matteo or Neroccio. Sometimes a painter of idyllic charm—as in his panel of the Annunciation at Volterra,—he became in later years one of great austerity and keener perceptions. Indeed, his peculiar development is a unique feature in Siena's artistic history. His son, *Girolamo di Benvenuto* (1470-1524) hardly equalled him in merit, although his earlier work is sometimes confounded with that of his father. He was virtually one of the last of the Sienese painters who retained unchanged the traditions of their school.

Domenico di Bartolo's great pupil was *Matteo di Giovanni* (about 1435-1495), who, had he received a different artistic education, might have succeeded in portraying movement and passion as well as did his Florentine contemporaries. Sienese in all his instincts, in his love of brilliant and rich colouring, in his appreciation of the lines of a composition, he was, in his adopted city, one of the greatest artists of his day. Nothing could be lovelier than such a head as that of St. Catherine in one of his pictures in S. Domenico—nothing could be more grotesque, and at the same time more splendid in colour and design, than his Massacre of the Innocents in Sant'Agostino. His greatest work,

the Assumption of the Virgin, now in the National Gallery, takes its place among the masterpieces of Sienese art. *Guidoccio Cozzarelli* followed very closely in Matteo's footsteps, and although at times pleasing as a painter was far inferior to his master.

The influence of Sassetta is clearly discernible in the work of *Giovanni di Paolo* (1403?-1482), which is as easy to criticise as that of his master is difficult (1). Harsh in types and often rough in execution, he nevertheless was able to produce such a charming work as the Assumption of the Virgin in the Saracini Palace. *Bernardino Fungai* (1460-1516), a pupil of Giovanni, was one of the last of Siena's own artists, and even his painting owes in some ways a debt to the Umbrians. His chalky colour and lack of modelling are not redeemed by any great appreciation of beauty, although many of his individual heads possess considerable charm.

With such men as *Pietro di Domenico* (1457-1501) and *Andrea di Niccolò* (1460-1529), although of different generations, we close the list of more truly Sienese painters. The influence of the Umbrians was already paramount, and the *Cin-*

(1) As a miniaturist his work is more pleasing. Several of the artists of the 15th century practised this minor branch of painting. Sano di Pietro was one of the most efficient. Specimens of his beautiful work, as well as that of his assistant *Pellegrino di Mariano*, of Benvenuto di Giovanni, and of Guidoccio Cozzarelli, are to be found among the choir books preserved in the Libreria of the Sienese Cathedral.

quecento artists of Siena became purely eclectic, borrowing not only from the Perugian, but from the Florentine, and even Lombard artists. *Giacomo Pacchiarotto* (1474-1540), a charming pupil of Fungai, and in his early days influenced by Matteo and Francesco di Giorgio, remained, perhaps, more truly Sienese than did his contemporaries *Matteo Balducci* (active first quarter of 16th century) and *Girolamo del Pacchia* (1477-after 1535). Both followers of Fungai, the former was carried off his feet by Pintoricchio, to whom he acted as an assistant, and the latter borrowed promiscuously from many of the great artists of his day.

When Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini, afterwards Pius III, wished to decorate his new Libreria in the Cathedral, he found the rather archaistic Sienese painters but little to his taste, and so called upon the Umbrian *Pinturicchio* to fulfil the task. Pandolfo Petrucci followed the cardinal's example, employing to decorate his palace not only the above-mentioned artist, but *Signorelli* and his pupil *Genga* as well. In 1501, a young follower of Leonardo da Vinci, Gianantonio Bazzi, called "Il Sodoma", was induced by agents of the Spannocchi, a wealthy family of bankers, to come to Siena and settle there. The presence of these various foreign elements offered not only an opportunity to study the newer Renaissance methods, but stimulated in

the younger of the Sienese artists a desire to draw and paint after the fashion of their more famous contemporaries. The ragged ends of the Sienese school, thus gathered together, resulted in the electicism already mentioned, very delightful at times, but retaining only the merest shreds of the ancient Sienese ideals.

The painter who exercised by far the greatest influence over this class of workmen was *Sodoma* (1477-1549)—that most over-rated of all artists. Incomprehensible as it may seem, the work of few painters has received such extravagant praise, and that from the majority of otherwise intelligent critics. Highly endowed by Nature, Sodoma so wasted his talents that his compositions, almost invariably careless to a degree, are, more often than not, absolutely lacking in that dignity of feeling which is always present in the work of a truly great artist. The highest praise that can be bestowed on his unsatisfactory productious is that they are "Leonardo watered down". His facility of execution, his "sweetness long drawn out", his exaggerated sentimentality, his effective colour, and the constant repetition of his effeminate types, could not fail, however, to obtain for his productions the wide-spread popularity which the possession of such qualities invariably brings. But as no man's work can be entirely condemned, so does that of Sodoma appear of

an excellent quality in such paintings as the Marriage of Roxana and Alexander, in the Villa Farnesina at Rome. His Portrait of a Lady, in the Städel Institute at Frankfort, also bears witness to his great possibilities as an artist. Had Sodoma continued to produce such works as these, and such work as a part at least of the famous fresco of St. Catherine, in S. Domenico, the world might have been the richer by another truly great painter.

To return to some of those who came under his influence. *Domenico Beccafumi* (1485-1551)—as unjustly condemned as Sodoma is praised—was a pupil of Pacchiarotto. He copied Sodoma to some extent, although much of his inspiration was undoubtedly derivcd from the works of Fra Bartolommeo, as is most apparent in the panel in the Academy—St. Catherine receiving the Stigmata. *Baldassarre Peruzzi,* already spoken of as one of the most renowned of Renaissance architects, was also a painter of some importance. Probably a pupil of Pacchiarotto in Siena, he afterwards assisted Pintoricchio in Sant'Onofrio at Rome, painting many of the frescoes himself from that master's designs. Others of his works in Rome show the influence of Sodoma, and again, that of Raphael (1); his later painting, of

(1) A fine picture from his hand which is in the Borghese Gallery —Venus leaving her Bath—is highly interesting for its intensely classic

which there are examples in Siena, bears the stamp of the academic Roman school, and is of little comparative interest. With *Andrea del Brescianino* (active 1507-after 1525), we close this brief notice of Sienese Painting. An eclectic *par excellence,* his style is a happy mingling of many elements, the predominating notes of which are Florentine and Raphaelesque (1).

Faint indeed, in the work of all these men, is the echo of Siena's artistic traditions. Yet a certain delicacy still remains, if no longer that of Simone, at least the semblance of what it was. The lovely gracefulness of Sienese workmanship is the one heritage left, the one attribute which never deserted her artists. Whether erecting their tower to rise like a great stone lily above their city, whether carving the statues for their marble fountain, whether painting the rush of the Announcing Angel—all was done with a love and an exquisite grace which must ever endear the Art of Siena to those who seek what is beautiful.

feeling. Perhaps the best, and at the same time the most characteristic, of his works are to be found in the Villa Farnesina, Rome. For a criticism of Peruzzi as a painter, see Dr. Gustav Frizzoni's essay in his *Arte Italiana nel Rinascimento.*

(1) An interesting essay by Mr. Berenson, entitled "The British Museum 'Raphael' Cartoon", is concerned with this artist's work. It has recently been republished in the second volume of that writer's *Study and Criticism of Italian Art*, London, George Bell and Sons, 1902.

THE MINOR ARTS

ALONG with the Architects, Sculptors and Painters of Siena, there flourished a large number of cunning craftsmen who worked in precious metals and in painted glass, who were potters, carvers and inlayers of wood, and dexterous workers in *commesso in marmo* or the inlaying of marble.

As early as the 13th century the Sienese goldsmiths were famous; they made crowns for royal heads and costly vessels to be used in churches, not to mention humbler utensils for the every-day demands of private life. Several of their names are known to us, but a mention of one or two of them must here suffice. *Lando di Pietro,* already spoken of as a great architect, began his career as a goldsmith, and it was he who was chosen to make for the Emperor Henry VII the crown used at his coronation. The most famous of Siena's gold-workers was *Ugolino di Vieri,* he who fashioned the splendid tabernacle which is still to be seen in the Cathedral of Orvieto, and the scarcely less beautiful reliquary in the church of S. Galgano in Siena.

The *Turini* family (working during the first half of the 15th century) have already been mentioned as sculptors and bronze-casters (1). They and their contemporaries executed many statues of gold, silver and bronze for chapels and shrines, sometimes adding colour to their work by the use of bright enamels. A small quantity only of this extensive output still remains intact.

Among the best workers in stained glass, at the end of the 14th century, was *Giacomo di Castello,* who designed the large window in the apse of the Duomo of Siena, as well as a window in S. Francesco at Pisa, and one in a chapel of Sta. Croce at Florence. During the following century, a large number of painted windows were executed in Siena for the Duomo, the Palazzo Pubblico and the Hospital, the majority of which have long since been destroyed. *Pastorino Pastorini,* a fine medallist as well as a maker of painted glass, was the last of such artists in Siena. There is a good example of his glass work in the Duomo. To see what he accomplished as a medallist, one must go to the British Museum.

That the practice of the ceramic art was for many centuries of great importance among the Sienese, has recently been proved by Prof. Langton Douglas (2), to whom is due the entire credit

(1) See pages 170-171 *supra.*

(2) In the *Nineteenth Century* of September, 1900.

of having rehabilitated this craft as one of the foremost industries of old Siena. Except for some fine tiles in Sta. Caterina, Sant' Agostino, the Petrucci Palace, and in the cloister of S. Francesco, few if any examples of this lost art are to be seen in the city. There still exists a *fabbrica* of pottery, but it produces household utensils only, and those of the roughest description. It is interesting to know, however, that the site of this present *fabbrica,* near the church of Sta. Lucia, has for many centuries been the centre of this popular trade.

Although mentioned as early as 1259, the art of wood-carving and inlaying, for which Siena is so justly famous, did not reach its full development until the 15th century. In the cathedrals of both Siena and Orvieto workmen had had ample opportunity to perfect their technique, and when *Domenico di Niccolò* commenced, early in the *Quattrocento,* to decorate the choirs of the Sienese Duomo and the Palazzo Pubblico, he lavished upon them all the beauty possible to his craft. Many of his works have disappeared; that in the Palazzo Pubblico, however, remains, and is one of the finest existing specimens of *intarsia* work. *Pietro del Minella* and his two brothers continued to execute choirstalls (for the Hospital church) and other furnishings. In *Antonio Barili,* the art of wood-carving and wood-inlaying reached its highest achievements. Indeed,

both he and his nephew Giovanni were among the greatest masters this art has ever produced. Much of their work has perished, although a part of the decorations for the Palazzo " del Magnifico ", now in the Sienese Academy, and the organ and cantoria above the sacristy door of the Duomo, still enable us to form a fair idea of their delicate and graceful work.

Although the last to be mentioned, the art of inlaying in marble has not only been one of the most important of Siena's crafts, but has continued to be practised until the present day. The pavement of her Cathedral, which indeed gave rise to the industry in Siena, has been pieced together by artists of many centuries—sometimes producing a beautiful and legitimate decorative design, sometimes an equally displeasing one. But, taken as a whole, their work is effective and forms an integral part of the striking interior of the church they have helped to adorn. The pavement will be described in detail when speaking of the Duomo.

ITINERARY

NOTE. For those visitors who can spend but a day or two in Siena, the following points of interest are the most important: **Piazza del Campo** and the **Palazzo Pubblico, Cathedral** and **Baptistery, Opera del Duomo, Galleria delle Belle Arti**; the churches of **S. Domenico, S. Francesco, Sta. Maria dei Servi** and **Sant' Agostino**; **House of St. Catherine**; **Archivio.**

TERZO DI CITTÀ

THE central and most characteristic part of Siena is the large **Piazza del Campo** (now called the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele). It is most easily reached by following the Via Cavour, the principal street of the town, as far as the Loggia di Mercanzia, which stands near the meeting of the Via Ricasoli and Via Cavour—a point called the Croce del Travaglio (1). Passing down the steps at the L of the Loggia, the sudden view of the

(1) See page 81 note (1) *supra*.

beautiful Piazza is most strikingly impressive. Immediately in front, at the bottom of the slope, stands the great Palazzo Pubblico with its wonderful soaring bell-tower. On all sides are high palaces, but palaces that have lost much of the mediæval aspect, their towers having been cut down and their façades almost entirely made over at various periods. Only the huge red Gothic building to the L, the Palazzo Sansedoni, remains almost as it was in the 14th century. The fan-shaped Piazza itself is very interesting. Its central area, enclosed by a broad pavement over which the famous Palio is run, is divided by stone ribs which meet in front of the Palazzo, the spaces between being paved, herring-bone fashion, with brick.

This unique and beautiful square has at all times been the heart and centre of Siena. Here whether for pleasure or for war, for councils good or evil, have her people always assembled. The scene of the many games so dear to the heart of Sienese (1), it yet awakes to life and gaiety when the Palio of August is run, and thousands of *contadine* in their flapping hats and gaily coloured garments crowd the Piazza to witness the time-honoured pageant. Until within the last twenty-five years the market was held here—now it is housed in an uninteresting

(1) See pages 145-147 *supra*.

new structure, at the back of the Palazzo Pubblico on the square below. When the Piazza itself was used for this purpose (1), each vendor was apportioned his particular stand, the dividing lines of the square much facilitating such an arrangement. And many were the ancient laws to regulate the buying and selling (2). Endless associations, historical, political and social, are connected with the Piazza del Campo. Dante has immortalized it by describing the scene of the proud Provenzano Salvani begging there of the people alms to ransom his friend imprisoned by Charles of Anjou (3). Here it was that S. Bernardino held captive his turbulent audience by means of his splendid eloquence. Here during the days of the city's own death struggle, her people held the most brilliant games, un-

(1) After a market of cattle, as well as food of all kinds, the condition of the Piazza must have been appalling, and the magistrates of the city evidently appreciated the difficulty of cleaning it, for, in the 13th century, the individual charged with that duty was allowed to keep a sow and four sucking pigs to assist him in his endeavours.

(2) During the 14th century the fishmongers, who had their stands below what is now the Circolo degli Uniti, were evidently inclined to sell old, as well as fresh, fish. We read that on market days, at the first stroke of the evening bell, the officials charged with that duty proceeded to their counters and flung on the ground the unsold baskets of fresh fish; these were immediately seized upon by those needy people who had eagerly awaited the moment. Dishonesty, however, was not always on the side of the seller. It is related how once a man stole from the Piazza flour which had been left there over night by the owners; he went on all fours with a bell, and the people taking him for one of St. Anthony's pigs, he got away with a goodly quantity, having succeeded in making three or four trips.

(3) *Divina Commedia.* Purg. XI, 133-136.

daunted by the ghosts of death and famine that already stalked the streets. Nor has it been free from darker pictures of bloodshed, riot and rebellion. Almost in our own times it has been the scene of the utmost cruelty, as well as of the most unbridled mirth (1). Indeed, the very web of Siena's history has been spun about her Campo, and to recount even a small part of the many happenings which have here taken place would fill a goodly volume. To-day, however, except for the noisy crowd of the Palio, the Piazza basks quietly in the sun, resting sleepily after its varied scenes of wild gaiety and untold terror; even the clamour and colour of the market is gone. Beautiful and more enduring monuments of former greatness remain, however, and their charm is the more enhanced by the present quiet and rest.

Near the centre of the Campo is the far-famed **Fonte Gaia** (1412-1419), once a splendid work of Jacopo della Quercia, but now a lifeless copy which preserves only the composition of the original work, the ruined fragments of which have been placed in the Opera del Duomo for safer keeping. It is well, however, to examine

(1) Little more than a century ago, when Napoleon had there erected his "Tree of Liberty", some fanatic priests at the head of an Aretine mob, broke into Siena and into the Ghetto, and having cut down the "tree" to make a bonfire, they threw the Jews into it one by one, thrusting them back as they attempted to crawl out!

this modern reproduction, by Sarrocchi, in order to comprehend what the work must once have been in its entirety.

As early as the 12th century, among the various houses situated on the site now occupied by the **Palazzo Pubblico,** there existed a *dogana,* or custom-house, for oil and salt, many of the upper rooms of which were occupied by administrators of the Commune. In 1282 the General Council of the city elected to adopt as a permanent place of residence this building, already occupied as it was by some of their offices. In 1288 they commenced to purchase the adjoining houses, and from 1294 these underwent an entire rebuilding which ultimately resulted (by 1309) in the "Palazzo della Signoria" (1). It was not until the 15th century, however, when the third storey was added to the wings, that the palace reached its present dimensions; one can still see, above the windows of the second storey, the corbels which supported the former battlemented top. The rich colour of the brick walls is relieved by the white marble of the dividing window-shafts and by the use of black and white shields above each window. In the centre of the façade are the arms of Duke Cosimo I, with those of Siena on either side—the

(1) See MILANESI, *Commentary to the Life of Simone Memmi,* VASARI, Ed. Sansoni, vol. I, p. 566.

Libertas [1] being very naturally omitted. Above is the splendid monogram of Christ [2] executed by the Turini family. Over the door at the R is a tiny statue of St. Ansanus, one of the patron saints of the city [3]; and below this, two Roman she-wolves, placed on either side of the Lion of the People—all works of the 14th century. At the R of this entrance stands a column bearing, still again, the Roman emblem of Siena. Column and wolf were placed there in 1459 by the Governors of the Republic, in order to distinguish their entrance from that of the Potestà. The wolf is the work of Giovanni Turini.

The exquisite bell-tower, commenced in 1338, and not yet finished in 1348, is known as the **Torre del Mangia.** Its name is probably derived from that of the chief of the bell-ringers employed before public clocks were introduced. When the tower was built an automaton was

[1] The origin of the Balzana, and also that of the Lion shield, have already been described, pp. 30-31 and p. 44. That of the *Libertas* is as follows: When Charlemagne sent messengers to Siena to announce his coronation, the people of the city selected three gentlemen who should go to the Emperor as ambassadors with gifts, and with instructions to ask "a remission of all imperial imposts, old and new, for all time to come, agreeing to provide on request of the Church a thousand men of battle". They obtained all that they asked, and the three ambassadors were ennobled and made counts of the Empire. On their return it was ordered that in all public places should be painted an azure shield, with the word LIBERTAS inscribed within it in letters of gold.

[2] See page 98 *supra*.

[3] See p. 20 *supra*.

placed on the summit to strike the bells, which being in its turn called the "Mangia", ultimately gave its name to the tower itself. The architects of this wonderful shaft were several in number. Minuccio and Francesco di Rinaldo of Perugia, were the earliest of these, and were followed, in 1339, by Agostino di Giovanni. The design for the top of the tower is attributed to Lippo Memmi on the strength of two documents (1), the usual translation of which is, however, open to criticism.

At the base of the Torre del Mangia is the **Cappella della Piazza,** a chapel commissioned by the Commune to fulfil a vow made during the terrible plague of 1348. It was begun in the year 1352, under the supervision of the *operaio del Duomo,* and, after several unsuccessful attempts, was finally completed in 1376. Nearly a hundred years later Antonio Federighi raised the roof, and added the entire upper portion of the structure, with its spirited frieze of griffins and the fine Renaissance wreaths encircling the arms of Siena. The twelve Gothic niches were probably intended for figures of the Apostles, but six only are filled. These statues, executed between 1377 and 1381, by four different craftsmen—one only of whom was a sculptor by profession—well show into what a state of de-

(1) *Misc. Stor. Sen.* vol. II. p. 148.

cadence Sienese sculpture had at that time fallen. The allegorical figures on the balustrade, in front, and part of the adjacent decoration, are modern copies, some of the original sculpture being in the Opera del Duomo. Over the altar is a much damaged and retouched fresco by Sodoma. The chapel as a whole is not unpleasing, but lacks unity and simplicity of line.

Before visiting the **Interior of the Palazzo Pubblico,** the visitor should notice a courtyard to the R of the Cappella della Piazza, which is interesting both for its architecture and for the many coats-of-arms of various Potestà. The palace itself is a veritable treasure-house of early Sienese painting. In order to take the works of art which it contains as nearly as possible in chronological sequence, it is best to visit first the **second floor** (entrance by door at extreme R; knock at first landing; fee to custodian, who if not there is always to be found at entrance to ground floor). To the R, as we enter, is the spacious **Sala del Mappamondo** or **Sala delle Balestre,** now used as a court-room. The end wall is almost entirely covered with a vast fresco by Simone Martini. It represents the Virgin and Child enthroned beneath a splendid canopy upheld by SS. Peter and Paul, the Baptist and Evangelist, and attended by a numerous choir of Saints and Angels. In front of the Divine Protectress of Siena kneel the city's patron saints

—Ansanus, Victor, Crescentius and Savinus. Painted originally in 1315, the fresco was in great part renewed within the following decade by Simone himself, owing to damage caused by the dampness generated by a magazine of salt on the floor below. Its present condition is none of the best, although portions of it are better preserved than others. Nevertheless, neither the hand of time nor the brush of the restorer, whose work is in places most apparent, have been able to entirely destroy our pleasure in this celestial vision, as it may justly be called. The Virgin still sits in majesty with the gentle yet dignified Child erect upon her knee, and the surrounding figures still retain to a great extent their original loveliness of colour and of face—the whole spirit of the picture remains unchanged. This is in a way the earliest of Simone's works that are now left to us. The change from Duccio's types is in many cases but slight, yet they are already Simone's own. In the little rounds about the fresco are half figures of Christ and various Saints and Prophets, which, together with the intervening ornament, are all worthy of careful attention (1).

High up on the opposite wall is a later work of Simone—his splendid equestrian portrait

(1) For those who can read mediæval Italian, there are, at the base of the fresco, two rhymed inscriptions of considerable poetic charm.

of Guidoriccio da Fogliano, Captain of War in Siena. It represents the warrior firmly seated on his richly caparisoned steed, riding out from the Sienese camp at the siege of Montemassi. This is probably the earliest of equestrian portraits in Italian art, as well as one of the greatest. Considerably restored in parts, but by no means ruined, as some writers would lead us to believe, this fresco is strikingly decorative, with its imposing central figure thrown out against the effective background of dark sky—with its strange pattern of picket-fence and lances, and its little castellated towns rising up on either side (1). As to the horseman and his charger—follow the flow of the mantle and the gorgeous trappings, as they sweep away toward the right, and you will realize how Simone loved his running line. For those who really appreciate Sienese art, this work remains among its most wonderful achievements.

On the side wall are two battle-scenes in monochrome; that to the L is the finer of the

(1) Since writing the above description, it has been pointed out to me that it is possible that one of the "little castellated towns" is not a town at all but a *Battifolle*.

"The name of *Battifolle* was given to a fortress with towers and ramparts made almost entirely of wood. It was usual to construct such a fortress whenever it was necessary to maintain a long siege of some large town or village. In the Palazzo Comunale of Siena, Simone Martini painted an affresco of Guido Riccio Fogliani at the siege of Montemassi. In that picture may be seen a *Battifolle*, complete in all its parts".—Lisini and Mengozzi, *Frammento di una Cronachetta Senese d' Anonimo del Secolo XVI*. (Siena, Tip. Lazzeri, 1893) page 12, note (1).

two, and represents the victory of the Sienese over the Compagnia del Cappello, in 1363, at Torrita (1); that to the R represents the battle of Poggio Imperiale near Poggibonsi, fought between the Florentines and the Duke of Calabria in 1479 (2). The authorship of both frescoes is somewhat doubtful. The first is perhaps by Lippo di Vanni, and the second by Giovanni di Cristofano and Francesco d'Andrea, two painters by whom we can cite no authenticated work. Both paintings, apart from their historical interest, contain much deserving of greater attention than is usually bestowed upon them. On the pilasters below, are figures of S. Bernardino, by Sano di Pietro, of St. Catherine—a fine ideal finely carried out—by Vecchietta, and of B. Ambrogio Sansedoni, by a later and inferior artist.

Under the portrait of Guidoriccio hangs the famous Madonna by Guido da Siena. The flesh parts of the two principal figures in this much-discussed picture—which was doubtless painted by Guido during the second half of the 13th century, and not in 1221 as the present inscription records(3)—were entirely renewed by a member of the school of Duccio in the early years of the century following. The limits of Guido's style may be gauged, however, by the figures

(1) See page 70 *supra*, and note (1).
(2) See page 104 *supra*.
(3) See page 178 *supra*.

of the six adoring angels in the upper part of the main panel, that of Christ in the triangle above, and such parts of the Virgin's figure and drapery as have escaped alteration. On either side are frescoes by Sodoma—St. Ansanus baptizing the Sienese, and St. Victor. The fresco of the Beato Bernardo Tolomei is likewise from his hand. They rank among his more creditable works, the St. Victor, more especially, being, for its author, an exceptionally masculine conception. It is, however, difficult to appreciate the work of Sodoma in this room, surrounded as it is by masterpieces of so infinitely nobler and more refined an art.

From this room we enter the **Sala della Pace,** or as it was once called, the **Sala dei Nove**—the room of the Magistracy of the Nine. Three of its walls are covered with Ambrogio Lorenzetti's world-famous allegories of the causes and results of Good and Bad Government. The first, and least damaged, of the series is opposite the windows. On the L sits the noble figure of Justice, enthroned, with crowned Wisdom above to guide her. Wisdom holds a pair of scales from which, on her R, leans downward the Angel of Distributive Justice, beheading one man and crowning another; from the left arm leans the Angel of Commutative Justice, giving money to one and weapons to another. Below Justice sits Concord --a most characteristic example of Ambrogio's

work—holding two cords which proceed from the scales above her, and which unite the group of citizens who pass from her before the Commune of Siena(1)—a majestic figure of a middle-aged man, clothed in rich garments of the Sienese colours. He holds in his right hand the sceptre of government to which is attached the end of the cord of Justice and Wisdom, and in his left a disk bearing an image of the Virgin—always the Protectress of Siena. Above him hover Faith, Hope and Charity. To his R and L are seated Prudence, Fortitude and Peace, Magnanimity, Temperance and Legal Justice. Most beautiful of these is the exquisitely modelled figure of Peace, crowned with olive and holding in her hand a branch of the same. Below

(1) The allegory is repeated in the *Tavoletta di Biccherna* of 1385; while, on the *Tavoletta di Gabella* of 1480, the Blessed Virgin is depicted as kneeling before a miniature Siena, raised upon three columns, around which she draws a rope, the ancient emblem of civic concord.

The same symbolism is often to be met with in the elder writers. Thus *Tirare a una fune* or *a una corda* is a phrase which is constantly used to signify united and concordant effort. Compare, for example, the following lines from the Proem to the *Tesoro* of Brunetto Latini:

Ond' io non so nessuno
Ch' io volessi vedere
La mia cittade avere
Del tutto alla sua guisa,
Nè che fosse divisa;
Ma tutti per comune
Tirassero una fune
Di pace e di ben fare.

(The above note has been sent me by Mr. Heywood).

the Commune are the Wolf and Twins, and groups of fully armed warriors on horse and on foot. To the R come men offering tribute, while others are led before him in fetters.

On the R wall are depicted the effects of Good Government. Within the city, scenes of prosperity and gaiety abound; knights and ladies ride through the town; in a square a group of young girls join in a merry dance (1). Outside the town there stretches a smiling landscape, and peasants safely bring their produce toward the city gate. Above the whole scene hovers Security, a winged woman with a scroll and gallows. On the opposite wall are seen the effects of Bad Government. At the R sits the horned and monstrous figure Tyranny, his left foot resting on a goat. Above him are Avarice, Pride and Vainglory. Horrible beings sit on either side—Fraud, Treason and Cruelty, Fury,

(1) This seems to be the celebrated *Rigoletto* or *Ridda*, a sort of round dance *(ballo tondo)* in which the dancers moved in a circle, hand in hand, singing. It is alluded to by Boccaccio, and seems to have been a usual form of amusement with the Florentines on May Day.

In the *Rime* of Franco Sacchetti, we read:

Sempre danze, e rigoletti
Con diletto, e gioia ciascuno;
Vecchi come giovenetti
Non è differente alcuno.

Such dances appear to have continued in Siena up to the fall of the Republic. On January 13th, 1555, we read that the youths, who were about to play at *Pallone*, "fecero un grandissimo *ballo tondo* che empiva più di mezza la piazza"—Sozzini, *Diario ad annum*.

Division and War. Below lies Justice, overthrown and bound. Within the walls of the city murder and evil deeds prevail, anarchy and disorder reign supreme; without, the fields are devastated. Over the miserable town hovers the demon of Terror.

Of the illustrative tendencies of these frescoes, I have spoken in the Introductory chapter (1). Considered purely as a decoration, they do not form as successful a whole as might have been expected. The detail is too exacting and deters the spectator from receiving a comprehensive impression of the entire work. Again, the damaged condition of the frescoes—fortunately, they are but slightly restored—does not add to the decorative effect. Their wonderful deep and dull colour, reminding us as it does of some of the work of China and Japan, is, however, an everlasting source of pleasure. To thoroughly enjoy these paintings we must examine them in detail. Many of the individual figures and incidents are not only possessed of great charm, but are masterly as regards both form and action. The figure of Peace, already mentioned, is even classic in its pure simplicity and delicate modelling. The episode of the dancing girls, in the fresco on the R, and that, on the L, of the mail-clad knight issuing from the city gate—to men-

(1) Pages 182-183 *supra*.

tion but two examples—show a power equal to that of the Florentines over modelling, splendid movement, and even foreshortening.

From the Sala del Mappamondo opens also the **Chapel** of the palace, the walls and ceilings of which are covered with frescoes, begun in 1407, by Taddeo Bartoli. Those in the corridor, outside the screen, represent Roman, and what might be called Biblical, heroes—curiously foreshadowing Perugino's decorations of the Sala del Cambio at Perugia. The colossal figure of St. Christopher and the smaller one of Judas Maccabœus are particularly noteworthy in their original brilliant colouring. Over the entrance to the corridor is painted an interesting mediæval map of Rome. The beautiful holy-water basin, with its supporting figures of bronze, was designed and cast by Giovanni Turini. The frescoes within the chapel itself represent various Saints, and four closing scenes from the life of the Virgin—her Farewell to the Apostles, her Death, her Funeral and her Assumption. Although almost entirely repainted at a recent period, these frescoes retain much of their original simplicity and force, and are very characteristic works. The Assumption of the Virgin fairly glows with the reflected light of its golden sky, which throws out in bold outline the city on the hills, much as Siena can be seen to-day at the setting of the sun. One of the greatest

beauties of this remarkable work is, however, the sweeping downward movement of the group of Christ and His angels. Taddeo's powers of depicting movement are also shown in the first of the frescoes—that in which the Apostles are making their last earthly visit to the Virgin. Among the other objects of interest in this almost perfectly furnished chapel, we would call especial attention to the handsome iron screen, finished in 1445 by Giacomo di Giovanni (1)—one of the finest existing example of its kind. The inlaid choir-stalls, which illustrate the Nicene Creed, were executed by Domenico di Niccolò. The scenes begin at the L of the altar, and continue at the further R corner. Beneath them are interesting carved and inlaid medallions containing various Gothic motifs. Over the altar is a picture by Sodoma, with a very fantastic background—rightly praised by Vasari as being one of the master's more carefully finished paintings. The handsome organ is another late piece of work. In the centre of the chapel hangs a fine Gothic lantern.

We pass into the next room, known as the **Sala dei Cardinali.** On the L is a fresco of the Virgin and Child with Saints, which, although absolutely ruined, still remains a pleasing bit

(1) It has been thought that the design for this screen is due to Jacopo della Quercia. *Doc.* Borghesi e Banchi, p. 177.

of colour. Another ruined fresco, of St. Paul, was once the work of a follower of Taddeo Bartoli. On the R a repainted triptych is also of the school of Taddeo. The panel of the Virgin and Child with Angels, dated 1484, and attributed to Matteo, is by his pupil Cozzarelli. This is a fine example of how near the pupil could at times come to his master, the difference here being one of quality only. Two small and interesting panels which represent a sermon and a miracle of S. Bernardino, attributed to Francesco di Giorgio, are by Vecchietta.

The walls of the following **Sala della Balia** were decorated by one of the most famous of the later followers of Giotto, Spinello Aretino, who was assisted in the work by his son Parri. This decoration is one of the very rare examples of painting by a foreign artist in Siena. The allegorical figures in the ceiling are by Martino di Bartolommeo, a pupil of Taddeo. They are graceful and pleasing in colour. The scenes painted by Spinello and his son represent various episodes in the life of the great Sienese Pope Alexander III (Orlando Bandinelli), many of them bearing upon the heroic struggle of the Italians against the invader Frederic Barbarossa. Artistically speaking, the most interesting are those depicting the Pope giving a sword to the Doge Ziani of Venice as he kneels surrounded by his soldiers (opposite the first window) and,

on the wall opposite the entrance, the triumphant procession of the victorious Alexander, his bridle held by the Doge and the humbled Emperor himself. Above the entrance is the confused but interesting painting of a mediæval naval fight—between the Venetians and Barbarossa's son Otho, who was eventually taken prisoner, as can be seen at the right of the fresco. In this room there are also three small coffers. The paintings on one of them, proudly shown by the custodian as genuine Fra Angelicos, are by a Sienese artist of the end of the 14th century. The chest of iron and wood, decorated by some artist of the school of Lippo Memmi, is said to have been used to hold the money for the daily expenditures of the Republic. The wolf on the third coffer is generally attributed to Barili, the coffer itself being in great part modern. The room contains also a fine intarsia door (leading into the Chapel) and handsome Gothic seats decorated with the arms of Siena, the latter executed by Barna di Turino. At the end of the **corridor** beyond the Sala di Balìa is the only known fresco by Neroccio—a Virgin and Child enthroned. Although not devoid of the inherent charm which that artist's work invariably possesses, this fresco does not make us regret the fact that he limited his attention to the painting of panels. The end room, known as the *Sala Monumentale*, has been adorned by

modern Sienese artists with scenes from the story of the unification of Italy. Considered as reminders of certain important historical events, these works may have some interest, but when looked at from an artistic standpoint the less said of them the better.

Before leaving this part of the palace, the visitor is conducted into the **Sala del Concistoro.** The fine marble doorway is attributed, with no reason, to Jacopo della Quercia. Executed in 1446, it is in all probability the work of the Florentine Bernardo Rossellino. It is an excellent piece of carving, and the delicate touches of gold and colour only enhance its effect. The intarsia doors are by a Sienese artist. The ceiling paintings, by Beccafumi, representing scenes from ancient history, can hardly be classed among his more successful works, overcrowded as they are in composition. The present somewhat garish colour is probably in no small part due to restoration. The effects of light and shade are, as is usual with this master, very interesting.

On the top floor of the palace is a **loggia** (admission granted by the door-keeper) from which a splendid view is to be had—a view of unending distances with the misty and beautiful outline of Monte Amiata far off against the sky. The grand but ruined fresco of the Virgin and Child, on the end wall, is by Ambrogio Loren-

zetti. The timbered ceiling of the loggia is also worthy of note.

The entrance to the **ground floor** is by the second door from the R (custodian necessary; fee). Just inside the door are the remnants of some *Trecento* frescoes. On the ceiling is a fine figure of Christ with Cherubim and four Evangelists, and on either wall two saints—originally all works from the hand of Bartolo di Fredi. The visitor is conducted through various small rooms now used as municipal offices. The **Sala del Sindaco** contains a fresco of the Resurrection of Christ by Sodoma, which although fine in action, is unpleasant in colour and coarse in execution. In the **Sala di Biccherna** [1] Sano has expended his greatest efforts on his ever favourite subject—the Coronation of the Virgin. This beautiful fresco (1445), filling so perfectly its apportioned space, is one of the most splendid examples of the decorative tendencies of the Sienese school. Strange to say, several of the principal figures—e. g. the foremost saints in the group to the left—are by another painter of the *Quattrocento* [2] whose style is easily distinguishable from that of Sano. The entire work was painted over an earlier fresco by Lippo Vanni, whose signature still remains. The S. Bernar-

[1] As to the Magistracy *di Biccherna*. See page 56 note [1] *supra*.
[2] According to Mr. PERKINS, by Domenico di Bartolo.

dino is likewise by Sano. Another and very poor Sodoma is to be seen in the **Sala dei Matrimoni.** In the Secretary's room is a fresco of St. Catherine—the head entirely repainted—by Sano. Outside the Sala di Biccherna is a large fresco of three saints (1), an interesting but damaged work, also by Sano—fine in colour. In a room called the **Ufficio di Anagrafe** (in constant use by officials, who courteously allow visitors to enter) is the finest of Vecchietta's existing works in Siena. In the centre of the fresco is the Virgin of Mercy, her mantle spread out to shield the suppliants about her feet; above her are choirs of exquisite angels—beautiful alike in drapery and movement; to the right a splendid figure of St. Martin leans from his horse to divide his cloak with the beggar. By no means the least pleasing quality of this fresco is its subdued and dignified colouring. On the side wall is a really fine work by Sodoma. It represents the arms of the city with the imperial Ghibelline eagle above them.

Leaving the Piazza, we return to the Croce del Travaglio. The **Loggia di Mercanzia** (2). Early in the 14th century the wealthy Guild of

(1) S. Pietro Alessandrino, the B. Ambrogio Sansedoni and the B. Andrea Gallerani.

(2) Now known as the **Loggia degli Uniti,** and occupied as a club-house. Sometimes also called the **Loggia dei Nobili.**

Merchants (1) determined to possess a residence of its own, and to that end bought several houses, (in 1309) (2), on the site of the present Loggia. The buildings satisfied the needs of the Guild for nearly a century, and were reconstructed only in 1417, by Sano di Matteo. His loggia, with the later addition of a storey, still exists as one of the pleasing monuments of Siena—that part of the building which faces on the Piazza del Campo having been entirely remodelled in the 18th century. The Loggia as a whole, although not ineffective, is somewhat heavy in its parts. The upper storey, notwithstanding its much later date, is quite in harmony with the older portion of the building. Of the statues which adorn the piers those of SS. Peter and Paul are by Vecchietta (1458-60)—those of SS. Victor, Ansanus and Savinus are by Federighi. The ascetic figures of Vecchietta, with their minute and detailed execution, contrast strongly with the somewhat pompous and heavily draped statues of his rival. At either side of the Loggia is a carved marble seat; that to the R, by Federighi (1464), is decorated with figures of Roman heroes, and on the back bears

(1) As to the important position held by the *Arte dei Mercanti*, see p. 46 *supra*; and more fully in the *Mercante Senese nel Dugento* of Prof. L. Zdekauer.

(2) *Misc. Stor. Sen.* vol. III, p. 27.

the various coats-of-arms of the city; the L bench, by Urbano da Cortona (1), is ornamented with figures of the Cardinal Virtues, and on the back with wreaths enclosing the Lion and Balzana shields, and two of the devices used by the *Consoli di Mercanzia* in their seal— a pair of scales and a bale (2). The ceiling of the Loggia was to have been entirely decorated (in 1549) by Pastorino, but as he finished in two years only a single compartment, the remainder of the work was carried on by a later artist. It has not been definitely established which is Pastorino's ceiling; all three bays seem to have been decorated by different hands, the one to the L being the best.

Continuing up the Via Cavour, which shortly becomes the **Via di Città** (now re-christened Via Umberto I), we pass on the R the Via di Beccheria. Half way up this street is a fine emblem of the Guild of Butchers. Nearly opposite, on the L, is the Costarella dei Barbieri, with an imposing view of the Piazza. The high stone tower on the corner is a clever modern

(1) This work has lately been given to Marrina on the strength of a document which contains an order of 1531 for a bench by Pietro Compagnini, Lorenzo Marrina, and Michele Cioli da Settignano. (Doc. III, 136). Despite the document, however, the present work is obviously by Urbano da Cortona, who died in 1504.

(2) Toward the 14th century, the Guild of Merchants had on their shield the effigy of Brutus, consul of the Romans, together with scales and a bale. *Misc. Stor. Sen.* vol. II, p. 124.

reconstruction. Opposite, at the entrance to the Via dei Pellegrini, stands a very interesting Gothic palace, comparatively unrestored, in the early days once the residence of the Potestà. We follow the Via di Città. The Palazzo Elci, No. 11, on the L, contains a finely modelled little statue of Bacchus, by Federighi, long considered an antique. Over No. 12 is a delicately carved coat-of-arms. Another fine stone tower is on the L. Directly ahead of us stands the great Gothic **Palazzo Saracini** (1), dating in large part from the 14th century with later restorations. It contains an extensive gallery of pictures, which can be visited by applying to the custodian (ring at bottom of stairs beyond entrance court; fee). Not having yet been systematically hung, there is some difficulty in finding those that are of interest. The gallery is, I believe, soon to be carefully re-arranged and the pictures re-numbered.

On entering, the visitor is conducted through a hall into a square room. Among the many pictures it contains, two by Neroccio are of especial interest—No. 8, a Virgin and Child

(1) It was from the tower of the older palace on this site—then belonging to the Marescotti—that the drummer Cerreto Ceccolini reported the changeful progress of the Battle of Montaperti. Tradition has it that Ceccolini was gifted with so good a pair of eyes that he could see the moving Florentine and Sienese hosts, three or four miles distant, as they swayed backward and forward, up and down the slope of Monteselvoli.

with Baptist and Magdalen, and No. 14, Virgin with Child standing in front, and SS. Catherine and Bernardino—both charming specimens of that master's work. A large and grandiose altar-piece representing the Marriage of the St. Catherine of Siena is by Beccafumi. It is well composed and one of the most ambitious attempts of this gifted, but at times somewhat academic, master. No. 69, an interesting marble relief with a fine *patina*—Virgin and Child—is by some Sienese follower of Donatello. Various remnants of Gothic and other sculpture of more or less interest are scattered through the room. The adjacent dining-hall contains good Renaissance doorways and a similar fire-place, decorated with various coats-of-arms including that of the Saracini—a Saracen's head. Two round pictures, Nos. 135 and 133, are pleasing and characteristic works of Brescianino. No. 131, Portrait of a bearded Man, if not by Sebastiano del Piombo himself, is certainly by a very close imitator of that master's later manner. In the following narrow room, a portable altar-piece, No. 244, is by Brescianino. The crucifix itself is of a somewhat later period. No. 205 is a hard but quaintly interesting portrait of a young woman with the attributes of St. Catherine, ascribed to Botticelli (!) but evidently by Mainardi, the little-known pupil of Ghirlandaio.

The next two rooms contain no objects of

particular interest save a hastily executed St. Sebastian by Brescianino, a large Virgin enthroned with Saints, probably by a Sienese eclectic much influenced by Genga and Signorelli, and a collection of porcelain. We pass into a square room with two high windows. A delicate little triptych, No. 1275, is by Sassetta, the left wing entirely repainted. Nos. 1278 and 1277 are fragments of Saints by Sano di Pietro. There are some good majolica plates, in frames, hanging about the room. The adjoining badly lighted closet contains several pictures of interest by earlier Sienese masters. No. 1268, Virgin and Child, is a curious example of the most degraded period of Italo-Byzantine art. No. 1263, a large panel of the Virgin and Child surrounded by Cherubim, although somewhat damaged, is one of the finest and most charming examples of Giovanni di Paolo's painting—exquisite in decorative feeling; it is signed, and dated 1427. Nos. 1257, 58, 59, 60, four small scenes from the life of Christ, are later works by the same artist. On either side of the large panel are two pinnacles, No. 1266—the Announcing Angel and the Virgin—pleasing works of Andrea Vanni. No. 1264 is a Virgin and Child with Saints, coarse in quality, of the school of Matteo. No. 1265, Christ and the Executioners, is by Sano. No. 1273 (low down) is a remarkably fine little panel by Vecchietta

—St. Martin dividing his cloak with the Beggar. The small and shivering figure of the latter is particularly worthy of notice. The arms of a Crucifix, on the R, No. 1256, are also by Vecchietta. Nos. 1237 and 38 are more fragments of Saints by Sano. The small half figure of an Angel, No. 1236, is a genuine work of Duccio. No. 1274 (high up), Virgin and Child in glory with Saints, is an interesting late Giottesque bit of painting. And No. 1269, a curious picture of the Virgin and Child with Saints, Angels, and Eve lying before the Virgin's throne, is probably by Paolo di Giovanni Fei.

We pass through a small room into another somewhat larger. In the L corner is a quaint picture of a Vestal Virgin by some artist influenced by Sodoma and the Umbrians. Nos. 1423, 1432 bis, mythological figures, show the influence of Beccafumi and, more obviously, that of Peruzzi. No. 1424 is a charmingly naïve panel by Balducci and represents the Dream of Hercules. Above, No. 1422, the Rape of the Sabines, shows Beccafumi in his early Florentine period. Nos. 1359, 1362, 63, 64, figures in landscape, are interesting panels, pleasing in colour and very near to Brescianino. On the L wall before leaving the room is a pleasant little Madonna by an Umbro-Sienese artist. Returning to the square room, we go out at L and pass into a long gallery. In the corner room ahead are

various objects in bronze, etc., and a good picture by Pacchia, No. 752, the Virgin and Child with St. John and SS. Bernardino and Catherine.

Almost the last room to be shown contains the gem of the collection—a beautiful little predella picture, much prized as a genuine Fra Angelico, representing the Adoration of the Magi (No. 933). This delicately executed panel is obviously by the still little-known Sassetta. No. 934, Virgin adoring the Child, with Angels, is an interesting Flemish painting, minute in execution and finish, and containing much that is most enjoyable. No. 973, St. Jerome, is by a German artist. Another St. Jerome, No. 965, is of the school of Beccafumi. By that master himself is a Madonna and Child, No. 1029—an early work, fresh in colour and execution. No. 918, a pleasing round of the Virgin and Child, is by some Umbro-Sienese eclectic.

The custodian then shows a few of the private dwelling rooms which contain various cabinets, some good ivory carving, and a fine collection of majolica. There are two Giottesque pictures of the Florentine school—an Annunciation; and a Virgin and Child with two Saints and two Angels. The charming Madonna surrounded by little angels, with SS. Jerome and Bernardino, is by Sano. The private chapel of the palace, beyond the entrance court, contains a fresco of the school of Sodoma.

Opposite the Palazzo Saracini stands a late Renaissance palace, No. 18, with a boldly rusticated door. Farther along is the **Palazzo Nerucci** or Piccolomini (now occupied by the Banca d' Italia). It was built by Catherine, the sister of Pius II, and was known as the " Palazzo delle Papesse ". The original design by Rossellino evidently underwent considerable change at the hands of the actual architects, Federighi and Urbano da Cortona, but the effect is nevertheless both imposing and refined. Beyond, past the Via del Castoro which leads up to the ruins of the unfinished Cathedral, is the **Palazzo de' Marsili,** rebuilt in the Gothic style in 1459. This palace is a curious and characteristic example of the tenacity with which the Sienese clung to what had for so long been their favourite style of architecture. Over No. 22 are interesting arms of the Piccolomini, probably the work of Urbano da Cortona. The Via di Città ends at the **Piazza di Postierla.** On the right-hand corner stands the tower of the Forteguerri de' Grandi, one of the oldest families of Siena. It was originally joined by a bridge with a palace opposite which belonged to the same family. Remains of the connecting arch are still to be seen embedded in the side of the tower (1).

(1) Many houses were connected by bridges not only to insure assistance when needed, but in order to evade the laws which forbade being out after curfew.

In the square is one of the several similar columns to be found throughout the city, supporting the emblem of the she-wolf and twins. Beside the "Lupa", the column bears a fine iron banner-holder, also of the 15th century. Turning into the **Via del Capitano** we pass, on the corner, the handsome Palazzo Chigi, built toward the end of the 16th century. No. 3 is a simple Gothic palace with fine coats-of-arms. Further on is the **Palazzo Grottanelli**—once inhabited by the Captain of War—one of the most striking of Sienese palaces. Erected about 1300, it passed through various vicissitudes until, in in 1854, it was restored to its original form. Although richly decorative, it lacks that harmony of proportion so characteristic of other Sienese buildings. The modern courtyard and staircase are worthy of notice. At the corner of the street, to the R, is the large Palazzo Reale, designed for the Grand Dukes of Tuscany by Bernardo Buontalenti. The Gothic palace opposite bears the *scala*—the emblem of the Hospital.

Few cathedral squares possess, at the present day, a charm surpassing that of the **Piazza del Duomo** of Siena, with its splendid Cathedral, its tall pinnacled Campanile, and the magnificent ruins of what was once intended to be the most imposing church in Christendom (1). For centuries

(1) See page 61 *supra*.

the centre of Siena's spiritual life, it has witnessed many varied scenes of fervour and devotion, enacted at different times, and under vastly differing conditions, by a people who, despite their many contrary failings, were always at heart distinctly fervent and religious (1). The Cathedral itself, had the people been enabled to carry out their great intentions, would have resulted in a symbolic summing up of all their religious pride and glory, even as the splendid Palazzo Pubblico represented the strength and pride of the State. Taken as it is, however, the present Duomo remains an unique and not unworthy monument of their nobler aspirations. As is the case with the Piazza del Campo, many an interesting page could be written on the historic associations of this beautiful old square, but, great as is the temptation to enter into such details here, the limited space and the fixed intention of this *Guide* prevent my doing so, and the reader must look elsewhere for this satisfaction.

The site of the **Cathedral** has, even from Roman times, been occupied by some edifice of worship, although the earliest place of central worship for the Sienese was probably in Castel

(1) Compare J. A. Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy, The Fine Arts* (London 1877) pages 220-221, and W. Heywood, *The "Ensamples" of Fra Filippo, &c., op. cit.* pages 89 *et seq.*

Vecchio. Both the name of the architect and the exact date of the foundation of the present cathedral are unknown. Begun during the second quarter of the 14th century, the building was practically completed by 1267. The then existing church was not only shorter than the present Duomo by one or two bays, but did not include the present choir or the Baptistery of S. Giovanni beneath. This addition of choir and baptistery was commenced by 1317. Partly because of defects soon discovered in the new work, which rendered the building unsafe, and partly because of the desire of the city to outshine her rival Florence, there arose the idea of building a new and more magnificent cathedral. Although encouraged in this proposition by the architects of the Duomo, among whom was no less a master than Lorenzo di Maitano, it was not until 1339 that the citizens finally adopted this plan. It was then decided to add to the old Duomo a huge nave toward the Via di Città, the Duomo itself to be retained as transepts. The famous Sienese architect Lando di Pietro was placed in charge of this work, and for some years it progressed rapidly. But the great plague of 1348, and the constant strife raging within Siena, sapped the city's energy and resources. Defects in construction also became apparent. The Sienese authorities turned for advice to several Florentine architects, who suggested the taking

down and rebuilding of the weaker parts; but, appalled not only at the necessary expense of such an undertaking, but at the length of time the proposed labour seemed to require, the people finally abandoned the idea of their wonderful new cathedral, and turned to beautifying the older building. S. Giovanni was presently completed (1370)—its façade from a design by Mino di Pellicciaio. Within the next ten years the Duomo itself was lengthened toward the Hospital and much of the sculptural work of the present façade was then carved and put into place(1). The handsome Romanesque **Campanile** had already been built during the first half of the century. Compared with its splendid rival, **the façade** of Orvieto Cathedral, that of Siena's Duomo falls in many ways behind, especially in architectonic feeling. The three portals of equal size and height, and the absence of any accentuating perpendicular or horizontal lines, emphasize this fact. In a word, the Siena façade lacks the unity of conception and the harmony

(1) The tradition, still generally accepted, that the present façade was the work of Giovanni Pisano and his followers, was first attacked by NARDINI-DESPOTTI. Further proof that it was posterior to 1370 was given by LISINI. Mrs. RICHTER also combats the tradition in her *Siena*, and lastly Prof. LANGTON DOUGLAS, in his new *History of Siena*, which has reached us while the present Guide was going to the press, gives a lengthy and detailed exposition of the truth. It is to be hoped that contemporary and future writers on the architecture of Siena will at last be persuaded to take some heed of what has been written on this important subject.

of style which is found at Orvieto—this being of course in great part due to the fact that its construction has been spread over many centuries. The lavish use of ornament, also, is not so well applied as at Orvieto, and its detail is not only overburdened but frequently out of scale. Yet, with all that can be said against it, the impression of the present façade is one of a certain opulent magnificence(1). Of the sculptures which at present adorn it, those about the great central window, together with a few of the remaining figures and certain other details, are modern reproductions, the originals having been transferred to the Opera del Duomo. The full-length statues in the different tiers to either side, and the figures on the pinnacles, are, in almost every case, genuine works of the end of the *Trecento* and the earlier years of the century following, by Sienese sculptors who still distinctly show a direct descent from the Pisani. Among these statues some are of no small merit; that of the prophetess in the first tier above the portal to the left, and a somewhat similar female figure on the southern corner of the façade, are especially noticeable for their dignity and grace, forcibly reminding us as they do of the Gothic

(1) If possible, visitors should see the Cathedral by moonlight, when disagreeable details are unapparent and the great mass of black and white marble becomes a gleaming vision.

sculpture of the North. The relief over the central portal, representing scenes from the life of the Virgin, is of a far earlier date, and may possibly have once formed a part of the original façade. Certain it is, whether this be the case or not, that this much damaged piece of carving dates, at the very latest, from the commencement of the 14th century, and is the work of a direct follower of the Pisani. The unfinished appearance of this central portal is a sufficient proof, to those who will use their eyes, that this relief was not intended for its present position. The fine carved columns of this central doorway date, again, from the end of the 14th century, or the early years of that following. The half-figures of saints, and the surrounding ornament in the lunettes of the side portals, are works of the full Renaissance, by a sculptor of the 15th century who nearly approaches Urbano da Cortona in style. The three busts (9) in the triangular spaces above the three portals are of a still later date, having been excuted by Tommaso Redi. The effect of the façade as a whole, as is also the case at Orvieto, is greatly marred by the inharmonious modern mosaics.

The **interior of the Cathedral** is at once impressive and unusual. The continued additions

(1) B. Ambrogio Sansedoni, B. Giovanni Colombini and B. Andrea Gallerani.



of succeeding centuries have not gone to increase an effect of unity, in its decorative features at least, although when seen under any other condition save that of glaring sunlight, there is a certain harmony in the whole. The use of alternate bands of black and white marble may strike the visitor as a particularly disagreeable feature, but after the first impression of a striped surface has worn off, the sensation is rather pleasing than otherwise. The interior as a whole, with its many Romanesque details—the heavy piers, the arcades within and without the dome, the carving of the capitals, the predominating horizontal lines, etc.—is but slightly Gothic in feeling, notwithstanding the fact that the ground plan of the church is doubtless to a great extent inspired by that of San Galgano. Moreover, the sensation of spaciousness here present is essentially a Romanesque feature, seldom to be found among the soaring Gothic churches of the North (1). The fittings and decoration of the interior are almost entirely of Renaissance workmanship, and only serve to add to the irregular effect of the whole. A characteristic and pronounced feature of this period is the row of terra-cotta busts of the Popes which form the supports of the corbel table dividing the nave from the clerestory. Commencing with that of

(1) See p. 158 *supra*.

Christ, above the centre of the apse, and continuing, to His left, with St. Peter, they form a continuous and chronological line around the church, and end with Lucius III, the successor to the famous Sienese Alexander III (Bandinelli). Below them, in the spandrels of the arches, are similar busts of Roman Emperors. Needless to say, few if any of these heads make any attempt at authentic portraiture; they are individualized, however, to a remarkable extent.

On the inner side of the main portal, at its base, are some low reliefs representing scenes from the life of the Virgin, by Urbano da Cortona. Above them, on the R, is cut the date 1483, probably that of the two heavily carved columns which support the tribune. Along the base of the tribune itself are reliefs of the late *Quattrocento,* representing scenes from the life of Sant' Ansano. The holy-water basins, on either side of the nave, are very beautiful works by Federighi. The base of that to the R, the finer of the two, has long been erroneously considered a Roman antique. The large window in the façade, representing the Last Supper, was executed in 1549 by Pastorino, from a design by Pierino del Vaga. Near the side portals are statues of two Sienese popes (1), Paul II (Camillo Borghesi), 1605-1621, and Marcellus II (Marcello Cervini), 1555.

(1) Interesting from an historical standpoint only.



In the **R aisle,** next to the entrance beneath the Campanile, is the tomb of Bishop Tommaso Piccolomini, who died in 1483, a refined work by Neroccio, worthy of the closest study. Below it are more bas-reliefs by Urbano da Cortona, representing scenes from the life of the Virgin, several of them being very charming in detail. The addition of the adjoining **Cappella del Voto,** in 1661, necessitated the blocking up of the famous Porta del Perdono, remains of which can still be traced on the outside of the church. The chapel was built to enshrine the still miraculous (1) " Madonna del Voto ", also known as the " Madonna degli Occhi Grossi " —the picture before which Siena begged for divine intervention when sorely oppressed by the foe. This " Madonna ", an Italo-Byzantine picture, is seldom exposed to the public view save on the occasion of some great festa (2). The highly emotional statues of St. Jerome and of the Magdalen are characteristic productions

(1) See Heywood's *A Pictorial chronicle of Siena,* page 64.

(2) On five different occasions, with solemn pomp and great humility, did the Sienese place before this picture the keys of their threatened city, thus throwing themselves upon the special mercy of their Divine Protectress —once before the never-to-be-forgotten victory of Montaperti in 1260; again, in 1483, when the *Signoria* was terrified by the threatening attitude of political exiles; in 1526, before the Battle of Camollia; in 1550, while the Spaniards were constructing their fortress; and still again in 1555, during the doughty little Republic's death struggle with her foes. For interesting accounts of these ceremonies of dedication, see Mr. Heywood's *Our Lady of August and the Palio of Siena,* chapter I.

of Bernini, remarkable, as is all that master's work, for the soft modelling of the flesh.

In the **right transept** are monuments of two other Sienese popes—Alexander III, and Alexander VII (Fabio Chigi), who built the Cappella del Voto. There is also a graffito tomb (restored) of some slight artistic interest, designed by Pietro del Minella, in 1444, who was assisted in his work by Giuliano da Como and Federighi. In the Cappella del Sagramento (corner of transept) are reliefs (1423) of the four Evangelists and of St. Paul, by Giovanni da Imola and Giovanni Turini.

The present **high-altar** replaces an older one which, until early in the 16th century, stood beneath the cupola (1) and was glorified by Duccio's great "Majestas", now in the Opera del Duomo. The design for the new altar is said to have been made by Peruzzi. This may originally have been, but the work now shows constructive faults, and defects in proportion, of which that master could never have been guilty. Upon the altar rests the magnificent bronze tabernacle by Vecchietta. On either side of it are Giovanni di Stefano's light-bearing angels, below which stand the even more beautiful statues of Fran-

(1) The monochrome frescoes of Saints which adorn the base of the cupola are the work of Benvenuto di Giovanni, Guidoccio Cozzarelli, and possibly other masters of the end of the 15th century.



cesco di Giorgio, worthy in every way of Vasari's enthusiastic praise. The small lateral half-figures are also by Francesco (1). Against the columns to either side are specimens of Beccafumi's work in bronze, the consols supporting the figures being from the design of Giacomo Cozzarelli. The six angels on the columns leading toward the nave are also by Beccafumi.

The richly carved seat at the R of the altar, and a large part of the choir-stalls, together with the reading-desk, were designed, and in great part executed, by Bartolommeo Neroni, called Il Riccio. Despite the germs of Baroque which these works (begun in 1567) contain, they are temperate and splendid examples of *Cinquecento* carving—magnificent in colour. The choir-stalls of intarsia were made by Fra Giovanni da Verona, in 1503, for the monastery of Monte Oliveto. They are surmounted by interesting little painted wooden figures of Prophets and Saints—all that remains of the older choir—dating from the last years of the 14th century. The frescoes in the apse were once by Beccafumi, but have been

(1) It is hardly necessary to dilate upon the artistic merits of this superb group of master-pieces in bronze, and it is as well to leave the visitor to his or her own appreciation of their manifold and varied beauties. Even in the later and in many ways inferior work of Beccafumi, who was pre-eminently a painter, we find the same astonishing and facile mastery in the handling of bronze which seems to have been inborn in the Sienese, and which made of the Turini, of Vecchietta, of Francesco di Giorgio and Giovanni di Stefano, such consummate masters of that art.

ruined by restoration. The organ and *cantoria* above the sacristy door were designed by the Barili in 1511. The large circular window above the choir was executed by Giacomo di Castello in 1369, although in style appearing to be of an earlier period. Pleasing in colour, it is, owing to its peculiar division into squares, too unsymmetrical to be effective as a whole. In the entrance to the **sacristy** is a fine little holy-water stoop by Giovanni Turini. The chapels of the sacristy itself contain fragmentary remnants of 14th century frescoes. An old wooden Crucifix hangs above the entrance door In the Chapter-house beyond are two interesting panels by Sano, one representing S. Bernardino preaching from an extemporized pulpit before the Palazzo Pubblico, the façade of which is here seen in its original condition; the other a similar scene taking place in front of S. Francesco. The fine large panel of S. Bernardino is also by Sano. The only other picture of interest in this room is a Madonna by Pacchiarotto.

Of all the objects of artistic interest in the Cathedral, the great marble **pulpit** of Niccolò Pisano [1] (begun 1266) is undoubtedly the most celebrated. In more ways than one this work is rightly to be considered as the first important

[1] Niccolò was aided in this work by his son Giovanni, and by his pupil Arnolfo and other assistants.



creation of Modern Italian art—as distinguished from that of classic times, and of the earlier Middle-Ages. Here, for the first time in Italy, the spirit of what is known as Gothic sculpture makes itself clearly and logically felt, and Niccolò shows himself no longer a limited imitator of late Roman models—as in his earlier pulpit at Pisa—but an artist thoroughly alive to the possibilities of embodying in his work both a freer selection of natural forms and a truer expression of the emotions and ideals of his own age. The gap which separates this pulpit from its predecessor is one which separates two different epochs in Italian art (1).

In form the pulpit is octagonal, and is supported by columns which rest upon the backs of lions and lionesses. The base of the central supporting column is encircled by allegorical figures. Above the capitals, beautifully carved with birds and foliage, are statues of the Virtues. Above these again are figures separating the bas-reliefs. Commencing to the R of the steps, they represent: a Sybil, Prophets, the Virgin and Child—one of the most exquisite works of its kind and strongly reminiscent of the Gothic sculpture of the North—Angels, the Redeemer of the World, and symbols of the Evangelists.

(1) For a more detailed notice of this change in Niccolo's style, see Mr. PERKINS' *Giotto*, Geo. Bell & Sons, London.

The first relief represents several of the scenes connected with the birth of Christ—the Visitation, Birth of the Baptist, the Nativity, Adoration of Shepherds. The second represents the Adoration of the Magi. Next comes the Presentation in the Temple, Joseph's Dream and the Flight into Egypt. Then the Massacre of Innocents, the Crucifixion, and, last of all, the Final Judgment, with Christ in the centre dividing the saved from the lost. The inappropriate but handsome steps leading to the pulpit were added by Riccio toward the end of the 16th century.

Opposite the pulpit is the **Cappella di S. Ansano,** containing the simple bronze tomb of Bishop Pecci, executed by Donatello in 1426, and some crude bas-reliefs of the 13th century —Adoration of the Magi etc.—which once served as an altar frontal in the Pieve del Ponte allo Spino. In the **L transept** is a sacred wooden Crucifix once said to have been carried by the Sienese at Montaperti (1). It is, however, a work of the early *Quattrocento.* Here are also statues of Pius II and Pius III, both Piccolomini popes. The **Cappella di S. Giovanni,** next to the transept, contains what is said to be one of the arms of the Baptist himself, presented to Siena by

(1) In the cathedral are two authentic relics of that famous battle—the *antenne* which once decorated the Sienese *carroccio,* now standing next the first piers of the nave, and the tomb-stones of Andrea Beccarini and Giovanni Ugurgieri (in the pavement close to the main portal , two of the noblest victims of Siena's greatest triumph.



Pius II in 1464. The architect of the chapel was Giovanni di Stefano; the external sculptures are by Marrina, the pedestal of either column being by Federighi. Within the chapel, above Donatello's superb bronze figure of the Baptist, is the reliquary containing the sacred arm. On either side are statues of St. Ansanus and St. Catherine of Alexandria. The one is the not over intellectual but dignified and pleasant work of Giovanni di Stefano; the other is by Neroccio—an unfinished statue of great and classic beauty. The low reliefs on the Font are fine works by Federighi, and represent the Creation of Adam, of Eve, Temptation of the Serpent, Eve tempting Adam, Denial of their Sin, Expulsion from Paradise, and two scenes of the labours of Hercules, alluding to the strenuousness of Christian life. Below these reliefs is an allegorical and decorative frieze, some of the groups of which possess great charm. All of the frescoes of the chapel were originally by Pintoricchio and his pupils. Three of these have been replaced by later works of no artistic value. Those by the master himself represent Alberto Aringhieri (the donor of the frescoes) as a young knight keeping his vigil, and, on the other side of the entrance, the same at middle-age dressed as a knight of Rhodes—this latter an authentic portrait. The fresco of the Birth of the Baptist, opposite, is also by Pintoricchio. There is a great difference, both in colour and spirit, be-

tween these works and the two frescoes above the entrance—representing the Baptist alone, and preaching, in the Wilderness—early works of Peruzzi while still strongly under the influence of Pintoricchio. Outside the chapel, high up to the R, is the Gothic tomb of Cardinal Petroni (died 1313) probably by Gano, the pupil of Tino di Camaino.

The fourth altar in the **L aisle** belongs the famous Piccolomini family. It was commissioned by Cardinal Francesco di Nanni Todeschini, a nephew of Pius II, some years previous to his own unexpected election to the papal chair, and was originally intended to serve as his tomb. A great part of the architectural framework was executed by Andrea Bregno (1481-85). Of the statues which adorn it, four (those of SS. Peter, Paul, Pius and Gregory) are generally attributed, on the strength of documents, to Michelangelo Buonarroti, who is said also to have finished the statue of St. Francis begun by Torrigiani. Despite the documentary evidence, I cannot bring myself to believe that Michelangelo had more than a small share in the direct execution of these works, which, though showing unmistakable traces of his manner, were probably in great part cut by pupils under his supervision (1). Next to this altar is the small

(1) Above the altar itself is a very charming Madonna of the late *Trecento* (covered).



figure of a Risen Christ, with two Angels, a work far too weak to be from the hand of Michelangelo, to whom it, also, is ascribed.

The famous adjoining **Libreria** was built by the above-mentioned Cardinal Francesco to contain the valuable library bequeathed to him by his uncle Pius II, and to honour the memory of that great pope. Above the entrance, in the L aisle, is a fresco of the Coronation of Pius III, painted after that prelate's death by Pintoricchio. It contains many interesting details as to types, and is more pleasing and subdued in colour than the frescoes of the interior. The figure of the Pope himself is executed in partial relief. The marble work about the door is by Marrina. The altar to the R, with the seated figure of St. John is by some Sienese follower of Donatello. The splendid bronze doors (opened by custodian; fee) are by Antoniolo Ormanni (1497). The walls of the interior are covered with frescoes, executed by Pintoricchio and his pupils (1503-1508), representing various events in the life of Pius II. Despite all local protests to the contrary, these frescoes have undergone thorough and energetic cleanings, nor are they entirely free from a considerable amount of restoration. Nevertheless, their present fine condition is in great part due to the excessive care bestowed upon them, and to favourable atmospheric conditions (1). Com-

(1) The comparison between these well-groomed paintings, and their equally important companion outside the door, is interesting.

mencing at the spectator's R, as he faces the windows, the subjects are as follows : 1. Enea Silvio (Piccolomini) starting with Cardinal Capranica for the Council of Basle. 2. He is at the court of James I of Scotland as ambassador of the Cardinal of Sta. Croce (1435). 3. He is crowned poet-laureate by the Emperor Frederick III (1442). 4. He is before Pope Eugenius IV as the envoy of the Emperor. 5. Having abandoned a worldly life for the Church, we see him as Bishop of Siena present at the meeting of the Emperor and his betrothed Eleonora of Portugal outside the Porta Camollia (1452). 6. He is made Cardinal by Calixtus III (1456). 7. He is made Pope under the name of Pius II (1458). 8. He holds a congress at Mantua to promote a crusade against the Turks. 9. He canonizes the great saint of his native town— Catherine of Siena. 10. Although in a dying condition ([1]) he goes to Ancona to hasten the crusade (1464).

Critically speaking, these works show both the limit and the possibilities of Pintoricchio's later style. Their colour is gaudy and overladen ([2]), the figures are painted with no care

([1]) In the fresco, Pius II is being carried down to meet the Doge in command of the Venetian fleet, while in reality the Pope was dead before the latter arrived.

([2]) This may in part be due to a clause in the contract for the work which expressly required the use of much gold and many varied colours. See VASARI, Ed. Sansoni, vol. III, p. 519.



for structural form, the compositions are usually poor and burdened with many unnecessary figures. But, on the other hand, the spacious and arch-framed landscapes produce an effect of Umbrian airiness which is most delightful. Many charming details, also, are found throughout the frescoes, and some of the heads are authentic portraits of various historical characters. The architectonic arrangement of the whole—of the ten pictures, divided by pilasters worked in delicate arabesques, and covered by a ceiling of the most refined and harmonious pattern (1)—could not be more complete, and whatever may be urged against the frescoes in themselves, the Piccolomini Library remains one of the greatest decorative triumphs of the Renaissance.

In the windows are the arms of the Piccolomini in fine old painted glass. On the wooden shelves carved by Antonio Barili are the famous choir-books, beautiful without and within. They are filled with many lovely miniatures by various Sienese artists—Sano, Pellegrino di Mariano, Benvenuto di Giovanni, Cozzarelli—and by two great Northern masters, Liberale da Verona and Girolamo da Cremona (2). The marble group of

(1) The ceiling, the pilasters with the charming *putti*, and the shields and angels above the windows were executed by Balducci and other assistants of the master.

(2) Permission to examine those of the illuminations not exposed, is obtained with the greatest difficulty from the Rector of the Opera del Duomo.

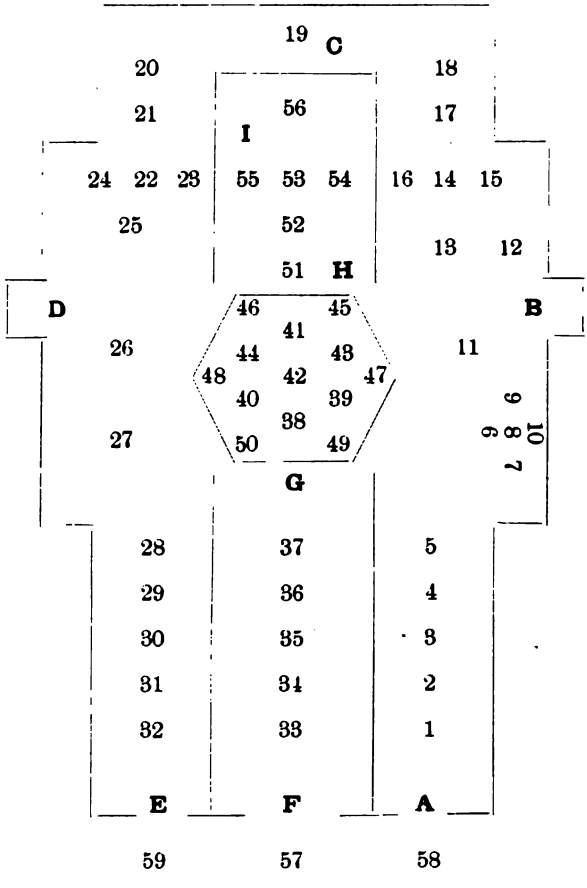
the Three Graces is a Roman work brought to Siena by the Cardinal Francesco. Over the door is a plaster cast of a work of the school of Jacopo della Quercia, often quoted as an original.

The execution of the famous **pavement** of the Duomo represents the labour of many centuries, commencing as it did directly after work on the original church had been resumed, and continuing to the present day. Constant, excessive, and ofttimes unnecessary, restoration has deprived many of the earlier designs of much of their original subtlety and refinement of line; others have even been entirely renewed or replaced by later works (1). Following the annexed plan, we commence with the R aisle (2)

(1) The limits of this *Guide* prevent me from entering into a detailed discussion of this unique feature of Siena's Duomo. Except in one or two instances, I give only the subject of the work, its probable designer—the execution was frequently carried out by another artist—and the date. I cannot do better than recommend to the reader Mr. R. H. Hobart Cust's little book on *The Pavement Masters of Siena*, which, although modestly disclaiming all critical pretentions, is an admirable example of a handbook, quite indispensable to those interested in the history of the pavement.

(2) The earliest method adopted in the piecing together of the various figures or scenes was to incise the necessary lines for drapery, face, etc., in slabs of white marble, filling in the cuts with black cement. Later, an attempt was made to give relief to the figures by placing them on a dark background. Still later again it was thought that, to depict a complicated subject, the simple black and white would not suffice, and coloured marbles were introduced in architectural accessories, or occasionally in some of the garments. The next and least successful method consisted in attempting a would-be realistic effect by adopting dark marble for the shadows and *vice versa*, and the last and modern method consists in misapplying the beautiful material by using it as one would a piece of drawing-paper—scratching lines on it for effects of modelling and perspective.




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A. 1. The Delphic Sybil, 1482. **2.** The Cumean Sybil, 1482. **3.** The Cuman Sybil (Giovanni di Stefano), 1482. **4.** The Erythrean Sybil (Federighi), 1482. **5.** The Persian Sybil (Urbano da Cortona), 1482. **B. 6.** A modern reproduction of the Seven Ages of Man, executed by Federighi in 1475. It is best to study this charming work in the original now preserved in the Opera del Duomo. **7. 8. 9. 10.** Hope, Faith, Charity and Religion; modern reproductions of works originally designed in 1780. **11.** The Sacrifice of Jephthah (Bastiano di Francesco), 1483. **12.** The Story of Absalom (Pietro del Minella), 1447—a work remarkable for its decorative quality. **13.** The Emperor Sigismund Enthroned (Domenico di Bartoli), 1434—a most interesting work by this Sienese exponent of the Renaissance, well composed, and noteworthy for its architectural details. **14.** Samson slaying the Philistines with the Jawbone of an Ass (Paolo di Martino?), 1426. **15.** Judas Maccabaeus (Domenico di Niccolò), 1424. **16.** Moses (Paolo di Martino), 1426. **C. 17. 18.** Temperance and Prudence, 1380? **19. 20.** Christian Piety and Justice, 1406? **21.** Fortitude, executed in 1406 by Marchesse d'Adamo and his companions the Comacene workmen. Despite all restoration, these five figures are among the noblest of the pavement. **D. 22.** Joshua and the king of the Ammonites (Paolo di Martino?), 1426. **23.** Joshua, 1426. **24.** Solomon,



1447? **25**. The Relief of Bethulia (authorship uncertain—Francesco di Giorgio?—much restored), 1473?—interesting for its architecture as well as for its figures. **26**. The Massacre of the Innocents (Matteo di Giovanni), 1481—on the whole the most successful representation of movement which Matteo has left us; even more interesting than the main picture, in this respect, is the pseudo-classic frieze (1). **27**. The Expulsion of Herod (Benvenuto di Giovanni), 1485—a splendid and spirited composition. **E**. **28**. The Albunean or Tiburtine Sybil (Benvenuto di Giovanni), 1483. **29**. The Samian Sybil (Matteo di Giovanni), 1483. **30**. The Phrygian Sybil, 1483? **31**. The Hellespontine Sybil (Neroccio), 1483. **32**. The Lybian Sybil (Guidoccio Cozzarelli), 1483. **F**. **33**. Hermes Trismegistus (authorship doubtful), 1488? **34**. Emblems of Siena and her allies (a modern copy of the only real mosaic pavement in the Duomo), 1373. **35**. A Wheel with the Imperial Eagle in the Centre, 1373? **36**. An Allegory of Fortune (Pintoricchio), 1504. **37**. The Wheel of Fortune (modern copy), 1372. **G**. The scenes beneath the cupola represent the Story of Elijah. **41**. Elijah's Sacrifice, **42**. The Compact of Elijah and Ahab, **43**. The Slaughter of the Prophets of Baal, **44**.

(1) This subject seems to have been a favourite one with the master. No less than three examples of its treatment are in Siena, a fourth is in the Gallery at Naples, and a fifth is in Aix-en-Provence.

Ahab's Sacrifice, **45**. Elijah sends Obadiah for Ahab, **46**. The Meeting of Ahab and Elijah—all works designed by Beccafumi, 1518-1531. **47**. Elijah fed by the Ravens, **48**. Elijah anoints Jehu, **49**. Elijah asks bread of the Widow, **50**. Elijah raising the Widow's Son—free modern copies by Franchi of older works probably designed by Sozzini or Beccafumi. **39**. Elijah predicts Ahab's Death, **38**. Elijah carried to Heaven, **40**. Ahab mortally wounded—original compositions by Franchi which replace older works now in the Opera del Duomo (1). **H. 51**. Moses striking the Rock (Beccafumi), 1525. **52**. Moses receiving the Tables of the Law on Mount Sinai, with five other scenes relating to the same (Beccafumi), 1531. **53**. King David, **54**. Goliath, **55**. The young David—all three designed by Domenico di Niccolò in 1423. **I. 56**. The story of Abraham's Sacrifice and fourteen other smaller scenes from Old Testament history (Beccafumi), 1544-46. Outside the main entrances, **57**. The Publican and the Sinner, 1448. **58**. A Jar labelled *Fel* (Gall), 1448. **59**. A Jar labelled *Mel* (Honey), 1443. In the spaces in the three doorways are scenes representing the "Ceremonies of Ordination" (Nastagio di Guasparre), 1450.

(1) The subjects of the earlier works were: 38. The Parable of the Mote and the Beam, 1374-75. 39. A Man giving alms to a Woman (Domenico di Niccolò?), 1433? 40. Two Blind Men (Federighi), 1459.

Over the southern entrance to the Duomo is a fine relief of the Virgin and Child by a pupil of Donatello, often attributed to that master himself. The buttresses of the main and clerestory walls are crowned, on the south side, with a number of statues which once stood against the pillars of the nave. With the exception of the upper one to the R, which is of the school of Federighi, they are all works of the end of the 14th, or beginning of the 15th, century.

When Lando di Pietro's plans for the new Duomo were abandoned, a part of the structure which had been already begun remained standing, and constitutes to-day the mass of unfinished work stretching away to the R of the church. What would have been the façade of this vast edifice faces toward the Via di Città. The two central round-arched windows with their Renaissance adornments seem to indicate that work on it was recommenced, for a time at least, during the 15th century (1). Part of this structure has been converted into the Cathedral Museum—the **Opera del Duomo,** and contains many objects of the greatest artistic interest. (If not at the Opera, the custodian is to be found in the Duomo; fee). **Ground Floor.** The large hall contains many fragments of original sculptures once on the façade of the Duomo, together with remains of

(1) See *Cicerone*, vol. II, p. 67.

other beautiful works which have been replaced by modern copies. Among the more interesting are six life-size statues from the façade, and, to the R: (2nd bay) fragments of the only portion of the Duomo pavement executed in mosaic, and samples of marbles which are found in Sienese territory; (3rd bay) a ruined stone wolf; (4th bay) reliefs of allegorical figures, originally a part of the balustrade of the Cappella della Piazza; above these, a vigorous statue of Moses, by Federighi, which once stood on the fountain of the Jews in the Ghetto; a fragment of a horse; (6th bay) an interesting terra-cotta bust of an old man; (7th bay) two of the worn and weather-stained reliefs from Fonte Gaia. These reliefs, together with others of the six remaining Virtues, that of the Virgin and Child (on the L of the room), those representing the Creation of Adam and the Expulsion from Paradise, and the two beautiful statues of Charity, once formed part of Jacopo della Quercia's famous fountain in the Campo. Although many are but mere fragments, at times almost undecipherable, these fine sculptures, instinct with life and movement, still show in every line the hand of the great master (1)—particularly in such a relief as that of the Creation of Adam, and in the splendid figure of Charity opposite. At the end of the

(1) See pp. 169-170.



room are other parts of the Duomo pavement —Federighi's delightful Seven Ages of Man, and the design of a Renaissance candlestick by the same master. Against the wall is a large painting of the Transfiguration, once an organ-screen, by Girolamo Genga. Returning, the following objects on the R are noteworthy: an interesting gargoyle of the Sienese wolf; (4th bay) two marble panels (98), probably by Urbano da Cortona, and half figures from the Duomo façade with strongly individualized heads; part of a marble bull; above this a relief of the Emblems of the Evangelists, of the school of the Pisani —once used face downward as part of the Cathedral pavement; (5th bay) Virgin and Child with two adoring Angels; other parts of the pavement; (6th bay) the painted wooden figure of a Bishop, of the end of the 14th century; a kneeling St. John, in terra-cotta, by Giacomo Cozzarelli; (7th bay) the side of a Roman sarcophagus; and, to the R and L of the entrance, two weather-beaten wooden doors, formerly in the Palazzo Pubblico.

On the **second floor** is a large room filled with modern models and plans connected with the Duomo (1). The small adjoining room con-

(1) The accurate coloured drawing of the entire pavement will greatly assist the visitor who may not find himself in Siena during the month of August, when only the pavement is entirely uncovered.

tains various drawings, the more interesting being: (20) the design for the façade of S. Giovanni, by Mino del Pellicciaio; (33) a drawing for a portico which, early in the 16th century, was suggested as an addition to the Piazza del Campo; (34) what may possibly have been Giotto's design for the Campanile of the Florentine Duomo.

Third floor. Ascending the stairs, we notice the carefully carved capitals of the pillars of the New Duomo. At the last landing is a small predella of great charm, and peculiarly fine in colour, by Matteo di Giovanni, representing the Martyrdom of St. John; St. Nicholas giving purses to the three poor maidens; the Resurrection; Scene from the life of St. Gregory; and St. Jerome removing the thorn from the lion's paw. On the R wall of the Gallery itself hang the dismembered panels of Duccio's world-famous "Majestas", not only the most important work in the annals of Sienese painting, but one of the most remarkable in the history of Italian art (1). This wonderful altar-piece has been so

(1) When finished in 1311, the picture was destined to stand on the high-altar of the Duomo, exposed to view both from the nave and from the choir, and was therefore painted on either side. It was sawed apart in later years when removed from its original position. The large panel of the Virgin and Child with Angels and Saints once faced the nave; below it was a predella, and above, various smaller panels refering to the life of the Virgin—all placed in a Gothic frame. On the reverse were the twenty-six scenes connected with the Passion of Christ, and above and below this other small panels depicting scenes from His life.



adequately and admirably criticised by Mr. Berenson, in his Central Italian Painters—which book I take for granted, here as elsewhere, to be in the hands of every serious student of Siena's art—that I cannot do better than to refer the reader to his pages (1), as well as to suggest repeated visits to the painting itself, which, in all its glory of molten gold and brilliant colour, represents the very apotheosis of Byzantine art as well as the foundation of that of Siena. In the large panel, to the R, the Virgin and Child are enthroned, in hieratic splendour, amidst a glorious company of Angels and of Saints. To her R are SS. John the Evangelist, Paul and Catherine, to her L, the Baptist, Peter and Agnes. In the foreground kneel, to either side, the patron saints of Siena, Savinus and Ansanus, Crescentius and Victor. Above, half figures of the Apostles look out from within their niches. Among the smaller panels, of which there are forty-four in all, mention can be made but of a few. Particularly noteworthy among those separately numbered are: the Presentation in the Temple; the Journey into Egypt; the Doubting Thomas; and, on what was once the back of the principal panel; the Entry into Jerusalem; Christ washing the Disciples' Feet; the Betrayal; Peter denying Christ; the Crucifixion; and the three

(1) See also pp. 179-180 *supra*.

Marys at the Tomb. These scenes represent a few only of the more striking of these superb compositions, but, indeed, to give the preference to any one above the others is unfair to Duccio; each and every one of them is worthy of long and careful study (1).

Turning to other pictures in the room, we find, near at hand, nine panels illustrative of the Creed, by Taddeo Bartoli—careful in execution and imaginative in quality. Below is a panel of the Crucifixion by the same master. No. 59 is a Madonna, Child, and Saints, by the favourite pupil of Taddeo, M.° Gregorio, a charming *rétardaire*. Above, a large panel of the Virgin and Child with Angels and SS. Bernardino and Anthony is somewhat doubtfully attributed to Pietro degli Oriuoli, a painter who enjoyed a considerable reputation during the latter half of the 15th century. No. 62, St. Francis appearing to St. Anthony, is, curious to relate, a direct copy of Giotto's frescoes of the same subject at Assisi and at Florence, by Giovanni di Paolo. The Birth of the Virgin (63), by Pietro Lorenzetti, painted in 1342, although much damaged, is beautiful in colour and composition, and is a

(1) Sufficient blame cannot be attached to the present authorities of the Opera del Duomo for allowing the discordant modern paintings which hang upon the wall above these sacred masterpieces, to remain where they now are—an offence to the good taste of the visitor, and a reproach to that of the Sienese themselves.

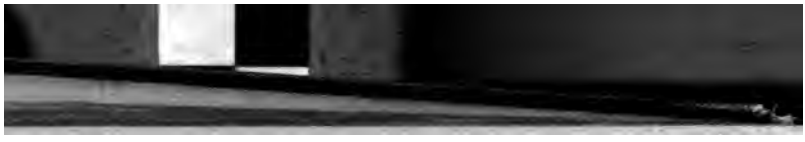


fine example of the realistic tendencies of that master. Above is a large panel of the Virgin and Child surrounded by dignified Saints—a work of Matteo, to which once belonged the predella now in the entrance. On the L wall are five panels relating to the story of the True Cross, by a pupil of Pietro Lorenzetti—generally attributed to the master himself. On the reverse of each panel are pleasing head of angels. In the centre of the wall are four damaged, but very fine, panels of Saints—early and beautiful works of Ambrogio Lorenzetti, still showing the direct influence of his brother. Above are two parts of a predella by Taddeo. On the end wall is a characteristic St. Jerome by Giovanni di Paolo. The St. Paul is by Beccafumi. In this room are also several embroidered altar frontals, that placed next to Duccio's work being perhaps the finest. In the centre of the adjoining room are two cases containing handsome vestments, and a third filled with various objects of interest—three early pastoral staves (1) of ivory (the Annunciation in one of them is a *Seicento* addition); another gilt bronze staff with figures in *niello* and a gilded figure of S. Ansano; three rings, one of which belonged to Pius II; and fine examples of early *niello* cutlery. Still another case contains: a beautiful silver

(1) One of these belonged to the Abbots of S. Galgano.

gilt relief of the *Trecento*—Christ in a *mandorla* of cherubs with figures of the Evangelists and the arms of Siena in *niello;* an Italo-Byzantine Crucifix of the *Dugento;* an enamelled figure from a Crucifix of the same period; a fine enamelled plate; two chalices—one worked in *niello;* and a handsome helmet of the *Cinquecento.* The door at the end of this room admits the visitor to the stairs which lead to the top of the unfinished façade, whence a magnificent **view** of the city and the surrounding country is obtained.

On leaving the Museum, we pass to the R through a handsome Gothic portal (with a sculptured group of Christ and two Angels) which would have formed a side-entrance to the New Duomo. Before descending the steps to S. Giovanni, we may visit the church of **Monagnese,** at the entrance to the Via del Poggio, to the R, (custodian at the Scuole Regie near by; fee). In this church is one of the little-known treasures of Siena, a painted wooden statue of St. Nicholas by Neroccio—one of the finest works of its kind, splendid in colour, untouched by restoration, and possessed of a beauty and dignity quite Neroccio's own. On the way to S. Giovanni, we notice, on the R, the mass of the **Palazzo del Magnifico,** built for Pandolfo Petrucci by Giacomo Cozzarelli. Near the bottom of the marble steps are seen, embedded in its wall, remains of Roman brick work. The lower



façade, on the Via dei Pellegrini, is adorned with Cozzarelli's fine bronze torch-holders. Within the courtyard are still to be seen several Renaissance doors and windows. The edifice has, however, been so mutilated that but a poor idea of its original appearance can be had. In the attic of one of the upper rooms are remnants of ceiling frescoes by Pintoricchio—medallions with classic subjects, etc.—very charming, but to be seen only with difficulty. The Palazzo Bindi-Sergardi, on the opposite side of Via dei Pellegrini, contains a remarkable ceiling by Beccafumi, far surpassing his later work in the Palazzo Pubblico.

As has already been stated, the construction of **S. Giovanni,** which replaced an earlier Baptistery situated on the Piazza del Duomo, was commenced early in the 14th century. Its unfinished **façade,** designed by Mino del Pellicciaio, with its simple yet effective lines, is far more pleasing than that of the Cathedral above. Before the three doors are interesting scenes in *graffito* of the Birth, the Baptism, and the Confirmation, of a Child (1450-1451), the middle one having been designed by Federighi.

The **Interior** (1), despite modern restorations, is harmonious in effect, the chief centre of at-

(1) A word of praise is due to the keepers of this church for the care taken to preserve order and cleanliness within it.

traction being Jacopo della Quercia's celebrated **Baptismal Font.** This work, although designed by the master himself, was in great part executed by his pupils (1417-1432). The six gilt bronze reliefs which adorn the sides are the work of some of the most famous sculptors of the *Quattrocento.* By Jacopo himself is the relief of the Vision of Zacharias (facing the apse)—a vigorous work, although somewhat poor in composition. The figures of Justice and Prudence, on either side, are by Giovanni di Turino. The next relief, the Birth of the Baptist, is a joint production of the Turini family, and the figure of Fortitude is by Goro di Neroccio. The Preaching of the Baptist is another creditable, but somewhat unequal, work of the Turini, and the following figure of Charity is again by Giovanni. The Baptism of Christ, and John before Herod, are both celebrated works of the Florentine Lorenzo Ghiberti, the latter being one of the most dramatic creations which we have from that master's hand. Even more strikingly dramatic is Donatello's Feast of Herod, which follows, a very naturalistic work, surpassing all the preceding reliefs in energy of expression. The sculptor's treatment of the architectural background is here particularly noticeable. The beautiful figures of Faith and Hope, to the R and L, are also by Donatello, the latter, especially, being a most exquisite conception. The five noble



marble bas-reliefs of Prophets (1) are by Jacopo della Quercia, as is probably the statuette of the Baptist which surmounts the whole work. Three of the charming bronze *putti* are due to Donatello, and the fourth (probably the one to the extreme L), to Giovanni di Turino, by whom is also the Madonna in bronze on the door of the tabernacle.

The greater part of the **frescoes** on the walls and vaulting are by Vecchietta and his assistants (1450-1453). The master's hand shows itself most distinctly in those of the Evangelists in the vaulting next the entrance, in the scenes illustrative of four of the Articles of the Creed (2), above the Font, and in the finely decorative Assumption of the Virgin, on the face of the great arch. Many of the angels' heads in this last work are particularly noticeable for their dignity and charm. The bays to the R and L of the entrance were probably painted by a contemporary of Vecchietta, in whose work lingers more markedly the influence of Taddeo Bartoli. The frescoes to the R of the Font are by Vecchietta and his pupils. Those to the L show,

(1) The authorship of these dignified and classic figures has recently been questioned, but a comparison of them with the reliefs of S. Petronio at Bologna will confirm my opinion that their traditional attribution to Jacopo himself is correct.

(2) On the arches of this and the preceding vault are various allegorical and symbolic figures by Vecchietta's own hand, which are particularly charming in feature and in colour.

to a less degree, the master's hand, but are certainly by a follower of his manner, and not by the Bolognese Michele Lambertini, to whom they have heretofore been ascribed on the strength of documentary evidence. The paintings on the wall to the L of the apse, representing two miracles of St. Anthony of Padua, are also by Vecchietta, who, judging by their style, was here probably assisted by Benvenuto di Giovanni. The architectural backgrounds in these works are especially interesting. The corresponding fresco on the R—Christ in the House of the Pharisee—is probably by the little-known Pietro degli Oriuoli (1489?). In the apse are a Flagellation and a Procession to Calvary, by Vecchietta. The Annunciation is more the work of a pupil. The recess between the Angel and the Virgin is decorated with busts of Saints by Vecchietta himself. Above are three scenes from the Passion, the Agony in the Garden, the Crucifixion and the Entombment, by a contemporary of Vecchietta, generally ascribed, on documentary grounds, to a certain Guasparre d' Agostino, a painter concerning whom little or nothing is known. The small and almost obliterated medallions below these works are also worthy of attention. The greater part of these frescoes have been so damaged and restored that much of their original character has been lost, and it is not always easy to distinguish Vec-



chietta's own handiwork from that of his assistants. Nevertheless, looked at in detail, they still contain much to reward a careful examination.

From the Piazza di S. Giovanni, the Via Franciosa leads to the former convent of the Gesuate, now a hospital for foundlings, and to the small church of **S. Sebastiano in Valle Piatta** (1), erected in 1507 (?) by Domenico Ponsi. It is built on the plan of a Greek cross surmounted by a cupola, and for elegance and simplicity of proportions, and interior space effects, ranks among the best Sienese buildings of the Renaissance. The interior decorations, by various Sienese artists of the *Cinquecento,* are exceptionally effective. The sacristy contains: a Madonna with SS. Jerome and John the Baptist, by Matteo di Giovanni, in his peculiar grey manner (much damaged); a smaller Madonna between SS. James and Jerome, by Benvenuto di Giovanni; and a sadly repainted picture by Guidoccio Cozzarelli. From the Via di Valle Piatta, a steep causeway, the Via del Costone, leads down the hill to Fontebranda. The shrine half-way down the slope commemorates a famous vision of St. Catherine. The view of the massive apse and foundations of S. Domenico

(1) Generally known as the church of the Innocenti, and now used as the oratory of the Contrada della Selva.

from this picturesque point is a fine one. The pleasant Via del Fosso di S. Ansano (1) leads from the church of S. Sebastiano to the Via Baldassarre Peruzzi, past the back of the Hospital.

We may return to the Piazza del Duomo by the steps going up beneath the arch opposite S. Sebastiano. To the L is the **Bishop's Palace,** rebuilt in the Gothic style early in the 18th century. In the wall to the R of the entrance is a marble slab traditionally pointed out as the tomb-stone of Giovanni Pisano (2). The entire south-west side of the Piazza is occupied by the **Spedale di Sta. Maria della Scala** (3). The former

(1) At the beginning of the street is a tablet recording the tradition that St. Ansanus was here boiled in pitch and oil and escaped uninjured.

(2) This stone bears the following inscription: *Hoc est sepulcrum magistri Ioannis quondam magistri Nicolai et de ejus eredibus,* and may originally have been intended to mark what was to be the master's last resting place. There seems, however, little doubt that he was actually buried with his father in Pisa.

(3) The legend which ascribed the foundation of this famous institution to the Blessed Sorore has been set aside by modern authorities, and it is now generally accepted that the hospital owed its origin to the 11th century. It was established by the Canons of the Duomo, who then lived together like monks and were obliged to devote a part of their revenue to the assistance of the poor. In time the governing power passed from their hands into those of the laity.

Like the Duomo and the Palazzo Pubblico, the Spedale can boast a long history of its own. For centuries it served as a lodging house for pilgrims, as well as an asylum for the sick and the poor. The names of two of Siena's greatest saints are intimately connected with its history—St. Catherine, who here made her daily and nightly rounds among the ill and dying, and S. Bernardino, who, together with his companions, distinguished himself by his heroic care of the plague-stricken during the terrible pestilence of 1400. Nor were these the only heroes that the Hospital has known—many another lesser saint has added his or her share to the record of self-sacrifice and devotion which makes the story of the Spedale what it is.

Gothic façade has undergone many changes, and has lost a masterpiece which once adorned it—a large fresco by the Lorenzetti.

Within the entrance, at the L, is the marble tomb of Jacopo Tondi, by Giacomo Cozzarelli. In a room to the R is a fresco of the Visitation, by Beccafumi. Beyond, is the great hall known as the **Pellegrinaio,** decorated with famous frescoes concerning the history of the Hospital. That over the door on the R, the subject of which is somewhat doubtful, is by Domenico di Bartolo, and has been hitherto unnoticed by writers on Siena. The next three frescoes are by the same master, and represent the Marriage of Foundlings; the Giving of Alms; the Care of the Sick and Injured. The fresco opposite this last is again by Domenico di Bartolo, and depicts the granting by Celestine III of the privilege which transferred the governing power from the Canons to the laity. To the L is a work chiefly interesting as having been painted by Priamo, the brother of Jacopo della Quercia —the entry into the Hospital and the taking of the robe by a woman about to enter its service. Then another fresco by Domenico di Bartolo represents the enlarging of the Hospital with alms given by the Bishop. It is evident that, throughout these paintings (1440-1443), Domenico was attempting what was beyond his powers—a realization of the Renaissance ideals

which, in Florence, had resulted in the decorations of the Brancacci Chapel. But although he failed in the greater issues of his art, he has given us a picturesque and realistic idea of the life of the Hospital, and of the costumes and manners of his day. As a portrait-painter, also, he is not incapable, and his architectural backgrounds show a keen appreciation of Renaissance detail. Artistically more interesting than any of its companions is the adjoining fresco by Vecchietta, representing the dream of a devout woman, who saw a ladder reaching down from Heaven and little children passing up it—traditionally the reason for the institution of the foundling asylum attached to the Hospital.

The most important of the other frescoes in the building are those which cover the walls and ceilings of what is now the **Deposito delle Donne** —early works of Vecchietta, painted in 1448. Although hopelessly damaged, several scenes, such as the Annunciation and Nativity on the L wall, and the Last Judgment on the R, retain much of their original interest and charm. At the end of the room, below the tabernacle, is a little-known Virgin of Mercy (covered)—once an important work, and still a delightful piece of colour —by Domenico di Bartolo. The **Infermeria di S. Pio** contains a monochrome fresco, the Prayer of the Beato Sorore, also by Domenico; and the **Infermeria di S. Galgano** a Crucifixion by Taddeo Bartoli.

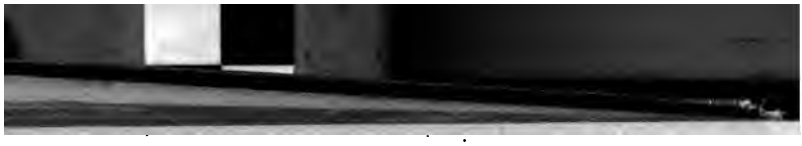


The adjoining **church** was rebuilt in the 15th century. Over the high-altar is a bronze figure of the Risen Christ by Vecchietta, presented by him to the Hospital in 1477. Despite its excessive naturalism and study of detail, this work remains one of the superlative achievements of the Renaissance in the technical handling of bronze. High up on the R of the church is the splendid organ designed by Peruzzi (1) (covered). To obtain a view of its fine detail, one must ascend into the organ-loft opposite. The small side chapel contains a good iron screen, an old Sienese Crucifix, and, over the altar, a repainted Madonna by an artist of the late *Trecento.*

Below the Hospital are the chapels of certain Confraternities (entrance by door furthest to L; open until two o' clock). In that of the **Compagnia di S. Caterina della Notte** (custodian in Via dei Pellegrini) is a Virgin and Child with Saints, by Taddeo Bartoli. In the cell adjacent to this chapel, St. Catherine was wont to pray and sometimes to rest during the intervals of caring for the sick in the Hospital. Continuing down the stairs, we pass into a vestibule, to the R of which, in a room of the **Confrater-**

(1) " The design is one which deserves most minute and careful study. It is more imaginative and capricious than anything else he produced, and suggestions of previous and future architectural work appear in many of its parts ". W. J. Anderson, *The Architecture of the Renaissance in Italy*, p. 118.

nità della Madonna, is a small collection of pictures, many of which have been mercilessly restored of recent years. On the end wall is a large Madonna, with Saints and Angels, by a pupil of Pietro Lorenzetti. The accompanying figures of SS. Peter and Paul were possibly once by the same hand. Four bier-heads, representing the Virgin of Mercy and the Adoration of the Cross, are by Guidoccio Cozzarelli. The central Crucifixion in a small triptych is a genuine work of Duccio, as are also the sides of a similar triptych, above, representing the Flagellation and the Entombment. Still another equally repainted triptych, the Virgin with the two St. Catherines and other Saints, is by Fungai. On the L wall is a Madonna by Sano, the Christ above it dating from the end of the *Trecento.* The chief treasure of the collection is a fine painting by Benvenuto di Giovanni (1501), representing St. Catherine bringing Pope Gregory back from Avignon—remarkable alike for its figures and its landscape. Near by is a tabernacle in *niello* work. To the L is a gaily coloured St. Eustace, by a pupil of Bartolo di Fredi. A Holy Family by Sodoma contains an exceptionally dignified Madonna and a pleasant landscape. The Dead Christ beneath is perhaps by Benvenuto. In the sacristy of the **chapel** opposite (opened by custodian; fee) are ruined but important monochrome frescoes of the Last Judg-



ment, by an unknown follower of the Lorenzetti (1). The figure of Christ is scarcely visible, but the groups of the Dead rising from out their tombs and sweeping through the air toward the Judgment Seat, are still left to us as truly wonderful examples, both in technique and conception, of the early Sienese school. The striking fresco of the Sybil appearing to the Emperor Octavius is by a painter closely resembling the dramatic Barna in style. An almost effaced John the Baptist is by Giovanni di Paolo.

Returning to the Piazza di Postierla we follow, straight ahead, the **Via di S. Pietro**. On the L are three interesting Gothic palaces in brick, of which the graceful and elegantly proportioned **Palazzo Tegliacci** or Buonsignori (2) (well restored) ranks among the most pleasing of later Gothic buildings in Siena. At the turn of the street is **S. Pietro alle Scale.** The large canvas over the high-altar, by Rutilio Manetti (1621), is one of the more creditable works of the Sienese *seicentisti*. Above the 2nd altar to the R is the fragment of a picture by Sano di Pietro (covered). In the sacristy are two small tondi, also by Sano, St. Lucy and the Angel of the Annunciation—the latter a veritable gem in colour, line, and movement. Here are likewise three coarsely

(1) Possibly Paolo di Maestro Neri.
(2) See p. 160 *supra*.

repainted panels by some contemporary of Duccio, and a press with figures in medallions by a pupil of Benvenuto di Giovanni. In a room of the priest's house is a half-figure of Christ blessing by Giovanni di Paolo, and a Virgin and Child by a close follower of the Lorenzetti —both much damaged and repainted (1).

Retracing our steps to the Postierla, we follow the **Via di Stalloreggi,** the continuation of the Via di Città. In this street are the remains of some of the oldest Gothic palaces in the city—Nos. 4, 12 and 11 (2). At the corner of the Via di Castelvecchio is a frescoed Pietà by Sodoma—one of that master's better works (3). To the L of the Arco delle due Porte stands the house in which Duccio painted his masterpiece, now bearing a tablet to that effect (4). From the **Via Baldassarre Peruzzi** the quiet Via del Nuovo Asilo leads down to the **Porta Laterina,** and to the new Via delle Scuole, which commands a charming view. In the Via Baldassarre Peruzzi (No. 24)

(1) It is perhaps needless to say that for the unveiling of pictures, the unlocking of sacristy doors, and similar services, a small fee is invariably expected. Churches are usually open until noon, and from three or four o' clock until sundown, but are always opened at other times by the custodian upon request.

(2) See p. 160 *supra*.

The last-named possibly occupies the site of a once celebrated palace of the Longobard counts.

(3) This fresco has perhaps been saved from the fate of other equally important works, in similarly exposed positions, by the timely initiative of an English admirer of Sodoma, Mr. R. H. Hobart Cust.

(4) On the R, in a covered shrine, is a fresco by Peruzzi.



is an unfinished façade which has close affinities with Peruzzi's style. The present church of the **Carmine,** with its well proportioned campanile(1), dates from the early 16th century. The convent (now used as barracks) is said to have been founded as early as the 8th century. It contains, in the further cloister, the famous Pozzo della Diana (2). Within the church itself, over the 2nd altar R, is an early and crudely executed Madonna, let into the centre of an uninteresting canvas by Francesco Vanni. Over the 4th altar is an Ascension of Christ, a well-composed work by Girolamo Pacchiarotto, showing the influence both of Perugino and Pintoricchio, although the master's own marked individuality is recognizable in many of the heads. Above the entrance to the adjacent chapel is a pleasing Madonna, in fresco, of the 14th century. Over the altar within hangs a Nativity of the Virgin, by Sodoma, particularly poor in composition and disagreeable in colour. The head of the woman in the foreground is, however, one of Sodoma's most pleasing types. A small Italo-Byzantine Madonna (covered) stands upon the high-altar. To the L is Beccafumi's celebrated St. Michael. Despite all that has been brought against it by the modern and fashionable de-

(1) Certainly not by Peruzzi.

(2) The Diana was a river supposed to have existed beneath the city, and for which the Sienese often searched in their need of water. Purgatorio XIII. 153.

tractors of Beccafumi, this work is certainly possessed of true dramatic feeling, and in its composition, its masterly handling of light and shade, its treatment of form, and even its peculiar colour, is not unworthy of much of the lavish praise bestowed upon it by Vasari and Peruzzi. The strangely beautiful angels are particularly characteristic of this master. In the finely proportioned sacristy is a statue of St. Sigismund—a poor work by Cozzarelli.

Opposite the church stands the **Palazzo Celsi** (Pollini), one of the most perfect buildings of its time, an authentic and highly interesting work of Peruzzi, especially noticeable for its refined proportions and its handsome cornice. It contains three much restored ceiling paintings, also by Peruzzi. Beyond the palace, the Via della Diana and the **Via di S. Marco** lead to the **Porta S. Marco,** where there is a shady little park with splendid views. On the way, at Via di S. Marco Nos. 46, 48, is the convent of **Sta. Marta** (now an orphan asylum), whose simple façade is due to Il Tozzo (1535). The cloister contains remains of monochrome frescoes by a pupil of the Lorenzetti, and the church a fine though damaged fresco of the Funeral of the Virgin, by a near pupil of Simone Martini (1). We may return from the Porta

(1) The lace-work made by the orphans of this institution may be of interest to lady visitors.



S. Marco by the quiet and pleasant Via delle Sperandie (1). At the end of that street is the church of **Sta. Lucia,** which claims to contain the original of Simone Martini's fresco over the outer gate of Camollia—the fresco of the Virgin before which S. Bernardino paid daily homage. The work here shown (over altar to R) appears to be executed on paper or parchment, and to have been originally by, or an old copy of, Lippo Memmi. In its present condition, rendered the more questionable by retouching, it defies conclusive criticism. Looked at from a distance, it is, however, wonderfully effective and expressive. Above the high-altar stands a fine statue of St. Lucy, ruined by the restorations of recent years, and in the sacristy a companion piece, a Bishop, which is far more pleasing in its original colour—both by Giacomo Cozzarelli.

Returning to the Palazzo Celsi, we ascend the **Via S. Quirico,** which, together with the **Via di Castelvecchio,** leads over the highest and most ancient part of Siena (2). The tower next the ancient and picturesque church of **Sant' Ansano in Castel Vecchio** served, according to tradition, as the prison of St. Ansanus before his execution. To enter the church, one must pass through the

(1) The road passes beneath the entrance to the Renaissance church of S. Paolo.

(2) This district contains many old and picturesque buildings.

neighbouring convent—a school for girls. On the L wall is a fresco of the *Quattrocento,* representing the Epiphany, and a charming figure of St. Ansanus with a kneeling donor—an earlier work. Above the door is an interesting old glass window. In a chapel to the R is a *Seicento* copy of Sodoma's St. Sebastian, possibly by a Bolognese master. Further on in the Via S. Quirico stands the church of that saint, with the remains of a Romanesque portal (1). There is a fine view from the priest's garden. On the R of the Via delle Murella (Tommaso Pendola) is the former **Convent of Sta. Margherita,** now occupied by an Institute for Deaf-Mutes. The old refectory contains interesting frescoes by Fungai—the Last Supper, Gethsemane, the Betrayal, the Crucifixion—all of which show decided Umbrian influences. In the church of Sta. Margherita is a modernized, but still beautiful, statue of the Virgin and Child, by a follower of Quercia. At the end of the street, on the L, remain vestiges of Roman brick construction. Turning into the **Via di S. Pietro,** we pass, on the R, the Via de' Maestri (Tito Sarrocchi), in which (No. 13) is a house once occupied

(1) It may be of interest to note that the name of S. Quirico (although perhaps referring rather to a castello which included the church of that name than to the church itself) occurs in a deed of gift of 1079, when Count Raineri and his spouse Berta gave to the Sienese church, for the good of their souls, half of the *curtis* (corte) of S. Quirico.



by Beccafumi. In the Palazzo Bargagli, to the L of the arch, is a passage-way with remarkable arabesque decorations, possibly by Giovanni da Udine—attributed to Peruzzi. Beyond the arch, in the Via delle Cerchia, No. 3, is the Renaissance **Palazzo Finetti.**

In the square (1) stands the church of **S. Agostino,** entirely rebuilt in the 18th century, although the apse still bears traces of earlier 15th century reconstruction. Over the 2nd altar R is a large Crucifixion (covered), a late work of Perugino. Despite heavy restorations the painting preserves much of its original beauty; the quiet airy landscape, with a view of Lake Trasimene, is particularly lovely. The Chapel of the Sacrament contains a Massacre of the Innocents by Matteo di Giovanni, on the whole the most successful of his representations of this subject. One can forget the realistic horror of the picture in the enjoyment of the beautiful colour, the fine flow of line, and the decorative effect of the whole. To turn from such a tonic work of art to Sodoma's ambitious altar-piece of the Adoration of the Magi (2) (covered) requires a sensible effort. However, the picture is not altogether

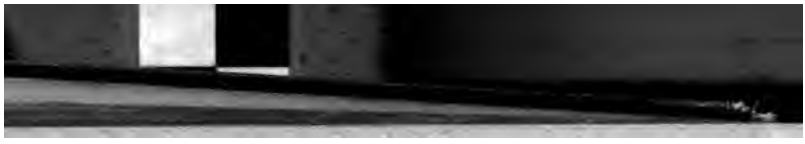
(1) Not content with changing the name of the Piazza, the municipal authorities have lately taken to "improving" it as they have other parts of the city, and with similar results.

(2) Originally painted for the Arduini family, it later became the property of the Piccolomini, to whom the chapel belongs.

unpleasing, although the inharmonious colour of the foreground, the visible defects in draughtsmanship, the coarse figure of St. Joseph, and the sentimental young king, detract from the pleasure we might otherwise receive from the fantastic and carefully painted landscape. In the choir hangs a fine picture representing the Blessed Agostino Novello, by Simone Martini, generally attributed to Lippo Memmi. The accompanying scenes of his miracles are full of movement and vivacity. The coloured statue of the Virgin and Child, in the apse, belongs to the early years of the *Quattrocento.* In the L transept is a statue of St. Nicholas of Tolentino by Cozzarelli. The picture of the Temptation of St. Anthony, in the adjoining chapel, shown as a Spagnoletto, is probably by the Sienese Rutilio Manetti (1). Outside the church, within the door to the R of the main entrance of the present Collegio Tolomei, are fragments of ceiling frescoes by Pietro Lorenzetti, among which is a noble half-figure of St. Catherine.

Opposite S. Agostino stands the small church of **S. Mustiola,** with a picturesque belfry, and containing a quaint picture by Andrea di Niccolò (1510) of the Madonna between the saints of the Shoemakers' Guild—Crispin and Crispin-

(1) The last chapel of the R transept contains some beautiful tiles of the 16th century. See p. 195 *supra.*



ian. The **Via del Tufi** leads to the gate of that name, designed by Angelo di Ventura in 1325. Descending the Via S. Agata from S. Agostino, we obtain a fine view of the Torre del Mangia through the arch. The Via Giovanni Duprè leads down to the Piazza del Mercato. The church of **S. Giuseppe** offers nothing beyond its architecture, and an interesting arched ceiling in the basement. The Via di Fontanella is a pleasant road leading to the Porta Tufi. In the suppressed chapel of Sta. Croce, beneath S. Agostino (now used as a gymnasium), are remains of frescoes by Sodoma.

Retracing our steps through the Arco di S. Agostino, we may reach the Piazza del Campo by the narrow and quiet, but once fashionable[1], **Via del Casato,** with its steep and picturesque side-streets. It still contains several buildings of interest, such as: 51, a small Gothic palace; 34, a typical private dwelling (restored); on the corner of the Costa Larga, a Renaissance palace with *graffito* decorations of the Labours of Hercules; 19, the Renaissance Palazzo Ugurgieri. In the courtyard of No. 9 is a fine hidden staircase of the *Dugento,* and, at the back of the palace, a loggia by some provincial imitator of Brunelleschi.

[1] See BARGAGLI, *Novella* V.

TERZO DI S. MARTINO

At the eastern corner of the Piazza del Campo commences the **Via S. Martino,** which opens almost immediately before the **church** of the same name, rebuilt over an older edifice, in the middle of the *Cinquecento,* from the designs of Peruzzi's pupil, G. B. Pelori. The façade dates from the beginning of the century following, and, for the period, is exceptionally dignified and sober. Within the entrance, to the R, is a picture by Lorenzo Cini, painted in commemoration of the victory of Camollia (1). Over the 1st altar is a tabernacle containing a small *Trecento* Madonna (covered), probably by Bartolommeo di Nutino (?). Above the next altar is a large picture of the Circumcision, by Guido Reni. The 3rd altar supports a ruined picture by Guercino, in a marble frame of the *Seicento* erroneously attributed to Marrina. By that master himself, however, is the handsome marble frame opposite, enclosing one of Beccafumi's best pictures—the Nativity of Christ—highly imaginative in conception but unfortunately much darkened. The

(1) For some account of this battle see LANGTON DOUGLAS, *History of Siena,* p. 217; E. G. GARDNER, *The Story of Siena etc.,* pp. 213-215; W. HEYWOOD, *A Pictorial chronicle of Siena,* pp. 82-86.

composition of this work, apart from the weird ring of circling angels, seems a free transcription of Francesco di Giorgio's painting of the same subject in S. Domenico. Above the choir is a fine glass window of the 15th century—St. Martin dividing his cloak with the beggar. The wooden statues of the Madonna, the Baptist, and three Apostles, are remarkable works by a close but unknown follower of Quercia. The beautiful statue of the Virgin, more especially, comes particularly near to Jacopo in style. In the old campanile are remnants of *Trecento* frescoes, recently uncovered.

The adjoining church of the **Misericordia**, No. 2[a], formerly part of a hospital for pilgrims, contains: a restored statue of its patron, S. Antonio Abate, possibly by Cozzarelli; two *Quattrocento* statues of the Virgin and the Angel Gabriel; and a pleasing picture of the Virgin and Child (covered) by Pacchia. In the meeting-room of the society are two panels by Pacchiarotto—St. Anthony Abbot and St. Paul; four bier-heads by Beccafumi, interesting work showing the influence of Sodoma; and two other damaged bier-heads by Cozzarelli. At the bottom of the stairs is a view of the adjoining cloisters and the brick campanile of S. Martino.

Nearly opposite the Misericordia, under the entrance arch to the former quarter of the Jews (the Via del Rialto), hangs a fine old iron lamp.

We follow the Via S. Martino. Over No. 7 are the arms of the Piccolomini; No. 9 is another of Siena's most ancient palaces, still adorned with lions' heads; within No. 11 is a typical *Trecento* staircase, and next to the well still remains the stone on which the waterpot was placed; No. 33, once a Gothic palace, has later Renaissance additions; No. 42 is a well restored Gothic palace. On the way we pass the Piazza S. Giusto, with a column (1428) bearing an iron cage which was used to hold torches or fuel for illumination (1). The church of **S. Giusto** contains a repainted picture by Sano di Pietro. In the picturesque **Via di Sallcotto,** now one of the poorer parts of Siena, is **S. Giacomo,** the contrada-church of the Torre, built in 1531 and containing, in the sacristy, a picture of Christ bearing the Cross, wrongly attributed to Sodoma. In the end of the street, facing the Palazzo Pubblico, are remains of fine early Gothic palaces.

The Via S. Martino leads to the church and convent of **S. Girolamo** (ring at door to L; fee). Within a niche in the cloister is Fungai's masterpiece—a panel of the Assumption of the Virgin, damaged, but particularly pleasing in colour. The

(1) There exists a tradition that the lantern served to hold exposed the heads of those decapitated. Another belief of the people is that the column was the pedestal for an image venerated by the Romans, and that the Sienese when converted turned the column up side down and buried the idol beneath it. *Misc. Stor. Sen.* vol. I, p. 219.

lateral frescoes are by a follower of Ghirlandaio. In the church, to the L, 2nd altar, is an interesting St. Jerome in his Study, by Pacchia, the side saints being also by that master. The next altar supports a fresco by the same artist who painted the sides of the niche in the cloister (1), enclosed in a marble frame by Marrina. In the aisle is the marble tomb of a bishop. The sacristy contains a Coronation of the Virgin by Sano (1465). The Via del Sole is another picturesque street, leading down to the Piazza del Mercato (2).

The Via dei Servi leads to the splendidly situated church of the **Servi di Maria** (SS. Concezione) rebuilt, in part, from 1471 to 1528. The pierced campanile is very effective, as is also the spacious Gothic-Renaissance interior. At the base of the tower is a quaint fresco of the Virgin rescuing souls from the flames of Purgatory. Over the 1st altar R is the majestic "Madonna del Bordone", by the little-known Coppo di Marcovaldo (1261)—a work which, despite later changes (3), certainly entitles its

(1) This charming fresco, now shown as a Matteo, is attributed by the *Guida Artistica*—upon uncertain grounds—to a Fra Giuliano da Firenze.

(2) It was here, back of the Palazzo Pubblico, that state executions took place until the end of the 14th century. The governors of the Republic then finding the cries of the tortured too insistent fer their happiness, ordered that from henceforth the condemned should suffer death elsewhere.

(3) The heads and flesh parts of both figures were renewed by a painter of the school of Duccio.

author to a place beside "Cimabue" and Guido da Siena. Above the last altar is a late version by Matteo di Giovanni of his favoured subject of the Massacre of the Innocents, painted, according to the inscription, in 1491. Although containing details of great beauty, this work is less satisfactory as a composition, and less successful in its presentation of movement, than is the picture in S. Agostino. The Madonna with donors, in the lunette, is also by Matteo. High up above is a small Nativity by Taddeo Bartoli. Over the entrance to the sacristy, R transept, is the "Madonna del Popolo", by Lippo Memmi —a work exquisite alike in sentiment and execution. The beautiful old frame, with its reliefs of singing and playing angels, is worthy of the picture it encloses. Still another much venerated picture is within the sacristy—the "Madonna del Manto", by Giovanni di Paolo, with a repainted signature changed to Giovanni di Pietro. Here is also a Virgin and Child of the school of Duccio. In a chapel to the R of the choir, Pietro Lorenzetti painted a large fresco (under whitewash until recent years) of the Massacre of the Innocents—a magnificent composition, showing to the fullest extent the master's power over movement and modelling. The corresponding chapel to the L contains two frescoes of the school of Pietro (possibly by the master himself), representing Salome before Herod and

the Assumption of St. John—free copies of Giotto's frescoes in Sta. Croce at Florence--both utterly ruined by time and restoration. Opposite this chapel hangs a large and carefully modelled Ducciesque Crucifix, wrongly attributed to Sassetta. On the high-altar stands a Coronation of the Virgin by Fungai, which, although well composed, is hard in colour, and has suffered by regilding and restoration. Above the 2nd altar in the L aisle is the lovely "Madonna del Belvedere", by Mino del Pellicciaio, and, on either side of it, figures of the Magdalen and St. Joseph by Fungai [1].

Behind the Servi is the small church of the Confraternity of the **SS. Trinità** [2], whose walls are entirely covered with paintings by late Sienese artists. The building contains, however, two pictures of artistic interest—a Madonna with Saints, by Sano (in the side chapel, covered), and a Madonna with St. Michael and the Baptist, by Neroccio (in the sacristy above). The latter, although hardly one of the best of Neroccio's works, is a picture of great charm, and its effect is enhanced by the fine old frame, with its predella of delightful *putti*. Descending the steps and turning to the R, we follow the Via Romana which leads to the gate, past the former

[1] The handsome holy-water basin is worthy of notice.

[2] Custodian at Via delle Cantine 5.

monastery of **S. Niccolò,** now rebuilt as an Insane Asylum. The church contains four medallions of the della Robbia school, a very fine Italo-Byzantine Crucifix of the 13th century, and one of the loveliest of Sano's early Madonnas. Above the **Porta Romana** (1)—a splendid example of a double fortified gate—is the wreck of a large fresco which has been the work of several hands. Commenced by Taddeo Bartoli, continued by Sassetta (who is said to have caught his death by cold while working here), it was finished by Sano—and modern restorers have done the rest. A short distance beyond the gate is the former convent and church of **Sta. Maria degli Angeli** (2), rebuilt in the 15th century. The interesting portal shows a combination of Gothic and Renaissance motifs. Inside is a signed and dated picture (1502) of the Virgin and Child with Saints, by the Florentine Raffaello di Carlo, enclosed in a frame carved by Antonio Barili. The Chiesa di Valle contains a picture by Sano (in the priest's house). Some distance further, on the Roman road, is the Lombard church of **Sta. Maria di Betlem** (3), containing an impressive Italo-Byzantine Madonna.

(1) As to its construction, see p. 162 *supra*. A description of the Roman tablet on the wall is given at p. 150.

(2) Sacristan at blacksmith's shop at bend of road, a quarter of a mile further on.

(3) See pp. 156-157 *supra*.

We return by the **Via Romana** to the church of S. Galgano (1), attached to the brick convent of the **Santuccio,** still occupied by Augustinian nuns. The church contains an interesting Nativity by a Flemish painter under the influence of Piero di Cosimo, two beautiful statues—the Angel Gabriel and the Virgin Annunciate—by a follower of Jacopo della Quercia, and a superb Gothic reliquary containing the head of S. Galgano—one of the most splendid works of its kind. Continuing up the Via Romana, we pass the garden of the Bianchi palace, on the wall of which is a fine marble tabernacle (1477), possibly by Giovanni di Stefano. The street opposite leads to the **Ritiro del Refugio** (2) (Via di Fiera Vecchia 11). The church contains one of the loveliest pictures in Siena—the half figure of a life-size Madonna praying. This mysterious and deeply impressive work is ascribed by Mr. Berenson, and with good reason, to Pier Francesco Fiorentino. In the rooms of the school are a Virgin and Child by Fungai and a Madonna and a repainted Crucifixion by Sano; and in the director's room, in the Palazzo di

(1) Custodian at Via Romana 20, fee. In order to see the reliquary —shown through a grating—permission must be asked, by the custodian, of the Mother Superior. The most convenient hours are 8-10, 12-2, 3-5. The sisters expect a franc or more as a donation to charity.

(2) Permission to visit the church is sometimes courteously granted on the presentation of a visiting card; fee to servant.

S. Galgano, another and delightful Sano, in its original frame. This **Palazzo di S. Galgano,** which faces on the main street, if not by Giuliano di Maiano, the architect of the Palazzo Spannocchi, certainly shows the influence of that master. At the end of the Via Romana, which leads into the Via Ricasoli, stands another of the columns bearing a wolf, placed there in 1470. To the L. are portions of the older wall of the city with picturesque hanging gardens. The Via dell' Oliviera, on the R, leads past the Lombard church of **Sta. Chiara** [1] to the **Porta Pispini**— a gate rivalling the Porta Romana, and above which are the remains of a fresco by Sodoma, in great part recently repainted. At an angle of the city wall, to the L, stands the only remaining bastion of the seven designed by Peruzzi [2]. A quarter of a mile beyond the gate, on the upper road, is the church of **S. Eugenia,** containing a charming picture by Matteo di Giovanni (covered).

Passing beneath the ancient Porta S. Maurizio, we notice, in an opening to the R of the **Via Ricasoli,** a fine coat-of-arms of the Piccolomini, still retaining its original colour. No. 47 was once a Gothic palace with an ornate brick façade.

[1] See p. 157 *supra.*

[2] Permission to view the interior of this much restored work may sometimes be obtained of the chief of the Military Magazines of Sta. Chiara, who courteously allows visitors to enter.

The Via dei Pispini leads to the church of **S. Spirito,** whose cupola was probably designed by Cozzarelli. The main portal may possibly have been erected from a design of Peruzzi. Within the 1st chapel L is the masterpiece of Matteo Balducci—the Virgin in glory worshipped by Saints—clearly showing his derivation from Pacchiarotto, despite its general outward Umbrian feeling. The 2nd chapel and that opposite contain statues by Cozzarelli, of St. Vincenzo Ferreri and St. Catherine of Siena. Over the 3rd altar is an early work of Pacchia, the Coronation of the Virgin, far more interesting than many of his later efforts. On the side wall of the last chapel hangs a damaged but pleasing Virgin and Child with kneeling donor, by an artist of the *Trecento.* The sacristy contains a frescoed Crucifixion with a view of Pistoia in the background, by Fra Paolino, the somewhat heavy follower of Fra Bartolommeo, and a Coronation of the Virgin by Beccafumi. In the Cappella degli Spagnuoli, to the R of the entrance, are frescoes by Sodoma (1530): SS. Anthony and Sebastian—careless in execution; and St. James of Campostello riding down the Saracens—coarse in conception. The poor figures of St. Nicholas of Tolentino and St. Michael may possibly be by Sodoma himself. The figure of St. Lucy redeems the lunette of the Virgin investing St. Alphonso. The Nativity in terra-cotta is

attributed to Ambrogio della Robbia (1504). Above the door is a large Crucifix by Sano di Pietro.

We return to the Via Ricasoli. On the corner of the Via di Follonica is a cleverly restored stone tower. The road itself leads down through the fields to the poetic **Fonte di Follonica.** The not entirely successful façade of the church of **S. Giovanni della Staffa** (in Pantaneto) [1] was designed (1563) by Pelori. In the atrium is a good terra-cotta statue of the Precursor, by Federighi. The walls of the church are covered with pictures by late Sienese artists. Over the high-altar (covered) is a small and repainted Madonna of the 14th century. On the ceiling of the sacristy is an interesting little fresco by Beccafumi. In the Via Ricasoli are several coats-of-arms on different palaces, including one of Julius II (Rovere) and one of Paul II (Barbo). The **Loggia del Papa,** designed by Federighi for Pius II, in 1462, is a veritable summing up of Sienese grace and refinement. Delicacy and lightness, however, have been purchased at a sac-

[1] The name "*Pantaneto*—the slough", may perhaps help us to an idea of the normal condition of even the principal Sienese thoroughfares before the citizens resolved to *fare mattonare le strade*, that is to say, to cause them to be "paued with bricks set vp edgeway", as our old friend Richard Lessels describes the operation. In the 13th century there were plenty of other streets besides the *Pantaneto* with equally ill-boding titles; for example: *Malfango*, *Malborghetto*, *Malcucinato*—Compare ZDEKAUER, *La vita pubblica &c., op. cit.* pp. 33-37.

rifice of the appearance of solidity and strength. The carved stone work and the elegant capitals, very worthy of attention, are by Federighi and his pupils. Beyond the Loggia, on the R, is the Palazzo Piccolomini-Clementini, with a row of monochrome heads of the 15th century between the corbels of the parapet. Obliquely across the way stands the imposing **Palazzo Piccolomini** (del Governo) with its grandly simple façade and massive cornice. Commenced in 1469 by Porrina and others, from the designs of Bernardo Rossellino, it is not only the most magnificent Renaissance building of Siena, but one of the most important in all Tuscany—a worthy rival of its sisters in Florence and Pienza. The beautiful capitals of the columns within the courtyard, and other parts of the stone work, were carved by Marrina. The interior of the palace is now used, in part, as the repository of the *R. Archivio di Stato*—one of the best kept collections of **Archives** in existence. To visit them we ascend by the further stairs on the L. The custodian (fee) conducts the visitor through many rooms, containing shelves on shelves of volumes, commencing with the simple roll of parchment (the earliest document is of 736) which later gave place to the bound leaves of the same material, for which paper was in part substituted as early as 1248. Many curious and rare bindings are here to be seen, from those of

simple wooden boards to those of richly tooled leather, among them being the unique book-covers known as the *Tavolette dipinte della Biccherna e della Gabella*—that is, the painted covers of the books of the Biccherna (in which office were received and disbursed the revenues of the Republic), and those of the Gabella (the office charged with the collection of taxes). The books of these important magistracies were at first bound in boards, fastened with leather thongs, whose plain surfaces soon gave place to a series of painted decorations, the earliest of which consisted merely of the coats-of-arms of the members of Biccherna or of Gabella (1), or a portrait of either chief officer. Succeeding centuries added scenes of allegorical significance or those connected with the history of the the city. It will thus be seen that the Tavolette possess not only an artistic interest but one of great historical importance as well. Space forbids more than a mention of those of particular artistic value, and I recommend the visitor to Mr. Heywood's *Pictorial Chronicle of Siena* for a highly interesting account of their historical and political significance and of the offices for which these books were adorned. The Tavo-

(1) The officers of Biccherna consisted of a Camarlingo and four Provveditori, while those of Gabella were a Camarlingo and three, later four, Esecutori.

letta of 1258, painted by Gilio di Pietro (?), is earliest in date, and represents Frate Ugo seated at his desk as Camarlingo. This and others that follow, by predecessors and contemporaries of Duccio, rank among the earliest attempts at individual portraiture in the history of Italian art, properly so called. A Tavoletta of 1320, S. Galgano plunging his sword into the rock, shows the influence of the real Sienese school —of Simone. Another of 1334, the Nativity, goes back to earlier models. The panel of the seated figure of Good Government, 1344, is by Ambrogio Lorenzetti, and that of the Circumsion, 1357, of his school. Pope Eugenius IV crowning Sigismond as emperor, 1433, and the St. Jerome in the Desert, 1436, are by Giovanni di Paolo—the latter a realistically delightful composition, evidently influenced by Sassetta. A Tavoletta of 1440, S. Pietro Alessandrino between two Angels, is by another follower of Sassetta, as is also the decorative St. Michael fighting the Dragon, 1444. The portrait of Ghino di Pietro Bellanti, Camarlingo in 1451, is by Sano, the two Beati following being likewise from his hand, 1457. Pope Pius II being crowned, with the Virgin above, is an interesting work of Vecchietta, 1460, and is probably an authentic portrait. Francesco di Giorgio, in the same year, painted the Pope as bestowing the Cardinal's hat upon his nephew, Francesco Todeschini; and

by the same master is the panel representing Siena as under the protection of the Madonna during an earthquake, 1467. A characteristic Tavoletta by Benvenuto di Giovanni, 1468, represents Peace and War—on one side a group of citizens receive money and Peace hovers overhead, on the other, soldiers of fortune receive their pay from the Camarlingo, while above them hovers War. An allegorical panel, 1471, the "Wisdom which emanates from God", is by Sano, as is also the charming picture, of 1473, portraying the Marriage of Lucrezia d' Agnolo Malavolti and Robert of Sanseverino, the famous condottiere. Another allegory of the Government of Siena, 1474, is by Benvenuto. A Tavoletta of 1479 records the entrance into Colle di Val d' Elsa of the allied Sienese, Papal and Neapolitan troops(1)—an interesting composition, delicate in colour. The quaint and beautiful picture of the Virgin recommending to God her favoured Siena, is by Neroccio di Landi, 1480 (2). On the opposite wall is a panel showing the interior of the Cathedral, with statues against the columns of the nave and Duccio's "Majestas" still above the high-altar—the scene represents a dedication of the city to the Virgin in 1483. A Tavoletta of the following year, by Cozza-

(1) See p. 104 *supra*.
(2) See p. 210, note, *supra*.

relli, depicts the Presentation of the Virgin. The panel of the Madonna guiding into port the ship of the Sienese Commune, 1487, is by Fungai. One of 1489, the Esecutori, garbed as penitents, entreating the Madonna to enter Siena, is by Cozzarelli. In the following room are a few covers of books of various offices. A Biccherna of 1421, the figure of a woman in blue, is a delicate work of the school of Taddeo. The cover of a book which contained notices of Sienese ambassadors from 1429 to 1439 bears a representation of two ambassadors on horseback, by Sano di Pietro. On the cover of an inventory of 1458, of the Opera di Sta. Maria (the Duomo), are the arms of that body, supported by two angels—a work of Vecchietta. The further rooms contain books of the Hospital with painted covers (one of them showing the Duomo as it was before the lengthening of the nave), and books with miniatures: by Niccolò di ser Sozzo Tegliacci (1334); by another follower of Simone and the Lorenzetti (1361); by Sano di Pietro (1472); and, in another room, an outline portrait of Gregory XII, of the school of Taddeo, and a parchment with a miniature by Cozzarelli (1). In

(1) Among these miniatures, the most beautiful of all is that of the Assumption of the Virgin, in the celebrated Caleffo dell' Assunta (See page 181, note, *supra*). This *Caleffo*, the second of the five *Instrumentarii* of the Republic (See pages 10 and 136 *supra*), is a magnificent parchment codex, written throughout by one hand, in very beautiful characters, and was compiled between 1334 and 1336.

the *Sala della Mostra* are exposed all manner of interesting documents, each bearing an explanatory label. They include Diplomas of many of the Holy Roman Emperors, Papal Bulls, documents—often bearing an autograph signature—connected with reigning princes, illustrious men and women (including saints, artists, famous condottieri); and others bearing on the *Divina Commedia.* In this room is also preserved the *Testamento* of Giovanni Boccaccio.

Opposite the Palazzo Piccolomini is the **University,** in the courtyard of which is an interesting tomb of the 14th century—of the celebrated professor Niccolò Arringhieri (1). We return to the **Croce del Travaglio** by the Via Ricasoli, noticing on the way the splendid stone tower on the corner of the Via delle Donzelle, and, again, that on the L, at the end of the street.

(1) See p. 168 *supra.* This bas-relief forms a remarkable illustration to the method pursued by the humanists in the instruction of their classes, as described by J. A. Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy. The Revival of Learning* (London, 1877), pp. 124-126.

TERZO DI CAMOLLIA

FROM the Croce del Travaglio the **Via Cavour** soon leads to the Piazza Tolomei (1). The severely splendid **Palazzo Tolomei,** with its lion-guarded doors, is all that stands intact of the great houses of that ancient family, which formerly surrounded the entire square, including the church of S. Cristoforo. It once constituted what was known as the Rocchetta, or that portion of the Casa Tolomei which served as the principal point of defence. In the Via del Re and the Via Calzoleria are yet standing, however, remains of massive Gothic structures which possibly formed a part of the family dwellings of the Tolomei. The column and wolf in the Piazza are modern reproductions, still bearing the arms of the family to whom they formerly belonged. The church of **S. Cristoforo** (entirely rebuilt) contains a large altar-piece—the Virgin and Child enthroned, with St. Luke and the Bless-

(1) The Piazza Tolomei is full of memories. In the old days, before the building of the Palazzo Pubblico, the Magistrates of the Republic were wont to hold their sessions in S. Cristoforo; while the parliament assembled in the square without. It was in S. Cristoforo that the *Twenty-four* were sitting when they received the Florentine ambassadors before the Battle of Montaperto, and it was thither that Salimbene de' Salimbeni brought from his palace the hundred and eighteen thousand florins of gold which he lent to the Commune to pay the German mercenaries. In this piazza, too, at a later date, Charles IV made his last stand (See p. 81 *supra*).

ed Raimondo—by Girolamo Pacchia (altar to L, covered), which narrowly escapes being that painter's masterpiece. It shows the direct influence of Fra Bartolommeo and is remarkable for its warm colouring. A small St. Christopher in the R transept, is by an artist of the early 15th century. Above the sacristy door stands a terracotta figure of S. Galgano, by a follower of Federighi. Within hangs a dimmed but finely decorative panel of St. George and the Dragon, belonging to the early *Quattrocento.*

In the **Via del Re,** opposite the Albergo Toscana, stands a tower which formerly belonged to the Angiolieri, bearing an inscription to that effect (1). An alley further on to the L, the Vicolo del Castellare, admits us to a group of buildings which once formed the stronghold of the powerful Ugurgieri family—the only remaining *castellare* in Siena (2). Straight ahead, on the Via Sallustio Bandini, stands the **Casa Sallustio Bandini,** a pleasing and refined example of a Renaissance dwelling house, very doubtfully attributed to Francesco di Giorgio. Near by, op-

(1) *Hanc domum cepit hedificare Angelerius Solafiche quando erat campsor domini pp. Gregorii VIIII in a. d. MCCXXXIII.* The inscription is extremely interesting as carrying us back to the period when the Sienese bankers had almost a complete monopoly of the papal business (See pp. 40-41 *supra*). The Angiolieri of the inscription was either the father, or more probably the grandfather, of the poet. (See p. 130 *supra*).

(2) For account of how the Potestà was here besieged for two days by the Salimbeni, see pp. 43-44.

posite the large Palazzo Bandini Piccolomini, is the remnant of an old wall with projecting Romanesque lions' heads (1). Turning to the L, we notice the partly rebuilt exteriors of the Ugurgieri palaces (2). The Baroque church of **Sta. Maria di Provenzano** (3), erected in 1594, by Flaminio del Turco, on the designs of Dom. Schifardini, has a spacious and well proportioned interior. The street to the L of the church leads to the Via dei Rossi, which in turn leads through an arch to the **Piazza di S. Francesco,** with a fine view of the Chianti hills. Over the arch itself are three statuettes—the Madonna and the great Franciscan Saints, Francis and Clara—fine works of the school of the Pisani.

The site of the church and convent of **S. Francesco** was occupied by the Franciscan friars as early as 1236, and the present church was erected early in the 14th century. The building has passed through many vicissitudes, the disastrous fire of 1655 having destroyed most of the famous monuments which once rendered it a second Sta. Croce, and the subsequent

(1) To the L, over an entrance to the Casa degli Esercizi, is a fresco of the Madonna with Saints, of the late *Trecento*. The chapel of that institution contains a St. Catherine, by Girolamo di Benvenuto, and a Madonna of the school of Francesco di Giorgio.

(2) By climbing the staircase of No. 2 a good view of the *castellare* may be obtained.

(3) For some account of the district of Provenzano, and of the Madonna for whom the church was built, see Mr. Heywood's *Our Lady of August*, chapter V.

Baroque reparations having completed the ruin. Some twenty years ago restorations were undertaken on the original lines, and, owing to the generosity of Siena's citizens, have been carried out, on the whole, not unsuccessfully. Although the bad modern glass does not add to the beauty of the interior, the visitor may form an excellent idea of the original appearance of the great churches of the preaching orders—with their grandly simple proportions and spacious interiors (1). The façade of the church was, as usual, left uncompleted. Over the Renaissance doorway is a statue of St. Francis, attributed to Ramo di Paganello, but certainly a work of much later date. On the entrance wall are fragments of Gothic sculptures. On the R wall is a repainted fresco of the Visitation, by a contemporary of Taddeo Bartoli; further on is an altar niche with frescoes by a late *Trecento* artist, entirely renewed. On the opposite wall are fragments of charming bas-reliefs of the 15th century—St. Francis preaching to the Birds (2), and the Vision of the Pope. The 1st chapel to the R of the choir contains a mysterious and hieratic Virgin (unfortunately much darkened) of the school of the Lorenzetti, wrongly attributed to

(1) The broad wall surface were, of course, originally covered with frescoes.

(2) See *I Fioretti di San Francesco* cap. XVI.

Pietro himself. In the adjoining chapel is Urbano da Cortona's masterpiece—the handsome tomb of Cristoforo Felici (1486)—clearly showing the influence of his master Donatello. On the L wall of the choir are marble busts of Silvio Piccolomini and Vittoria Forteguerri—all that remain of the monument erected to his parents by Pius II. The 1st chapel to the L contains a fine but damaged fresco of the Crucifixion, by Pietro Lorenzetti, showing markedly the influence of Giotto; and the 2nd chapel two frescoes by his brother—the Martyrdom of the Franciscans sent to convert the Sultan, and St. Francis before Honorius III. The last-named splendid work shows remarkable powers of individualization which restorations have by no means destroyed. In the last chapel is an entirely repainted Virgin enthroned, of the latter half of the 14th century. A chapel opposite contains a much restored *graffito* pavement, originally by Marrina. The handsome furniture of the sacristy (R transept) is noteworthy. Here is also the fragment of a fresco by Sodoma.

Above the altar of the adjoining **oratory of the Seminario** (opened by sacristan) is a very beautiful Madonna nursing the Christ-Child, one of the loveliest panels of Ambrogio Lorenzetti. The heavily repainted fresco in the form of a polyptych was probably once a work of Pietro Lorenzetti. In the **corridor** beyond is a noble

relief of the Madonna, of the school of Federighi, erroneouly attributed to Cozzarelli. The **refectory** (opened by doorkeeper) contains remnants of frescoes by Ambrogio Lorenzetti—the Risen Christ being a work of singular impressiveness. In the **reception room** is an interesting Virgin and Child by Segna di Bonaventura (1). We leave the church by the graceful cloister, rebuilt in 1518. On the R stands a Gothic portal of 1336, which once gave access to the tomb of the Petroni. Here are also, embedded in the walls, various fragments of sculptures and some very fine tiles, saved from the wreck of the former church.

To the L of S. Francesco stands the chapel of the Confraternity of **S. Gherardo** (custodian, Via delle Vergini 1). Within the cloister is a repainted frescoed Crucifixion of the end of the 15th century, and in the meeting room an attractive small half-figure of St. Louis, by Taddeo Bartoli—a fragment of an altar-piece—very pleasing in colour. On the landing of the stairs are some fine old tiles, bearing the crescents of the Piccolomini. The **Oratorio di S. Bernardino**

(1) The Rector's private room contains: a Madonna with St. Jerome and the Baptist, by a follower of Francesco di Giorgio; an entirely repainted predella of Judith, Delilah, and Esther, of the school of Sassetta; Christ bearing the Cross, by Beccafumi, enclosed in a handsome frame carved by the Barili (?), and small remnants of frescoes by Paolo di Neri (?) from the monastery of Lecceto.

(custodian at No. 6) contains a number of works by Sodoma and by the Sienese eclectics. The panel of the Virgin and Saints, above the altar opposite the entrance, is a poor work of Brescianino. In a small room at the top of the stairs is a marble relief by Giovanni d' Agostino, and, on the altar, a Madonna by Sano. The over-rated paintings of the oratory itself are far from satisfactory as decorations, the compositions in many of them being too crowded and the scale of the figures too large. The scenes illustrate the life of the Virgin. They commence on the L wall with her Nativity, by Girolamo del Pacchia, a work clearly showing the influence of Andrea del Sarto. Then follow the Presentation in the Temple, by Sodoma; the Marriage of the Virgin, by Beccafumi; and a S. Bernardino, by Pacchia. On either side of the altar is the Annunciation—a fine work of the same master. The St. Anthony of Padua is also by him. The next fresco, of the Visitation, is a poor production of Sodoma. The Death of the Virgin, by Beccafumi, also, adds little to that master's credit. The Assumption, on the other hand, is one of the best paintings that Sodoma has left us in Siena, the composition, remarkable to say, being here an excellent one, and the technical execution equal, and even conscientious, throughout. On the end wall is the same master's Coronation of the Virgin. The figure of the Virgin herself is here pleasing,

but the fresco as a whole is far inferior to its predecessor. SS. Francis and Louis, on either side, are likewise by Sodoma. The painting above the altar is by Beccafumi. The handsome ceiling was ordered of Giuliano Turapilli in 1496.

From the **Via dei Rossi,** the Via del Comune leads down to the **Porta Ovile.** The contrada church of the *Bruco,* half way down the slope, contains a picture of the *Trecento.* In a hollow just outside the gate is the picturesque **Fonte Ovile.** Over the gate itself hangs an old painted Crucifix, and to the L (covered) is an attractive fresco, by Sano di Pietro, of the Madonna with SS. Bernardino and Ansano—the fragment of a once much larger work. On the **Via di Valle-rozzi,** opposite the church of S. Rocco, is a tabernacle containing a Madonna by Fungai (?). The church itself, used as the oratory of the *contrada della Lupa,* contains late Sienese paintings and a colossal statue of its patron saint. Near by is the large Gothic **Fonte Nuova.**

From the Via dei Rossi, the Via S. Pietro Ovile opens before the church of **S. Pietro Ovile.** Within, on the R, is a beautiful early copy of Simone Martini's Annunciation, now in the Uffizi, by an artist of the latter half of the *Trecento.* The pinnacles above are by Matteo di Giovanni, as are also the two side saints of the picture opposite—S. Bernardino and the Baptist. The

central panel of this latter work, representing the Virgin enthroned, is a genuine work of Pietro Lorenzetti. Above the door hangs a Crucifix by Giovanni di Paolo. The pedestals of the two holy-water basins are worthy of notice. In the sacristy is a panel of St. Peter, of the 14th century; and, in a room of the priest's house, a pleasing Madonna by an early contemporary of Taddeo Bartoli.

Returning to the Via dei Rossi, we notice No. 20, with interesting terra-cotta work about the Gothic arches, and another square-set mediæval staircase within.

The Via dell' Abbadia leads to the piazza of that name and to the church of **S. Donato,** once the property of the Salimbeni. It contains a picture by Pacchia (over an altar to the L), and, in the adjoining chapel of the **SS. Chiodi,** a dignified Virgin and Child, by Andrea Vanni. In a corridor of the priest's house is a damaged Madonna of the *Trecento.* The piazza affords us the best view of the fortress-like Palazzo Salimbeni. We return to the **Via Cavour,** passing beneath what was once an interesting Renaissance loggia.

To the L is the Palazzo Bichi, enlarged in 1520. Obliquely opposite stands the small Renaissance Palazzo Donati. No. 14 is a fine large Gothic palace. The handsome **Palazzo Spannocchi,** which is now occupied by the Post and Tele-

graph offices, was built for Ambrogio Spannocchi, the treasurer of Pius II, from the plans of Giuliano da Maiano, in 1470. The old façade faces the Via Cavour, whereas that on the piazza is a modern restoration. The adjoining **Palazzo Salimbeni** has been virtually rebuilt, on the old lines, and, together with the later **Palazzo Tantucci,** is now occupied by the Monte dei Paschi. In a room on the upper floor of the latter is a beautiful fresco of the Virgin of Mercy, in fine preservation, by Benvenuto di Giovanni, painted in 1481. The saints to either side are mediocre works of a later and unknown artist, and the wolf and twins at each end, with the Lion and Balzana above, are evidently by Balducci.

Passing between two ancient towers, in the sides of which are remnants of what once formed the Northern Gate of Roman Siena (1), we reach, on the L, the little church of **Sta. Maria della Neve,** whose graceful façade, commenced in 1471, may possibly have been due to Francesco di Giorgio, to whom it is generally attributed, but is more probably a work of Antonio Federighi. Over the altar (key at barber's shop opposite) (2) is one of Matteo di Giovanni's masterpieces—the Ma-

(1) See pp. 155-156.

(2) On the other side of the road, to the right of the shoe-maker's shop, may be seen one of the old bolts which were used to support the chains with which the streets were formerly barricaded in times of tumult —see page 65 *supra*, and note.

donna of the Snows (1477). The scenes of the beautiful predella illustrate the legend of the foundation of Sta. Maria Maggiore in Rome. Nearly opposite the church is another sturdy tower. We follow the Via Cavour. The **Palazzo Costantini** with its simple façade and handsome portal, has been attributed to Francesco di Giorgio, but is probably due to one of that master's followers. The iron torch-holders are noticeable. The church of **Sant'Andrea** contains, in the sacristy, a dismembered altar-piece by Giovanni di Paolo. At the end of the Via Garibaldi a few steps to the L of the Barriera S. Lorenzo, stands the famous *Casa della Consuma,* now quite prosaic in appearance, but during the 13th century the scene of the wildest extravagance, when it was the meeting place of twelve youths who, in three months, succeeded in spending over four million lire (1). The church of the Confraternity of **St. Sebastian,** with an interesting Renaissance façade, once contained a famous banner painted by Sodoma—now in the Uffizi.

The Via Cavour becomes the **Via di Camollia.** The Via Campansi leads to the ex-convent of the **Campansi,** now occupied as a poor-house. It still contains several frescoes (shown by at-

(1) See *Inferno* XXIX. 125-132 and W. Heywood. *The "Ensamples" of Fra Filippo, op. cit.,* pages 59-63.

tendant; fee). In the first cloister is a large and interesting Assumption of the Virgin, the choirs of Prophets and of Angels having been painted by Pietro di Domenico, and the remainder of the fresco by Balducci. On the second floor is a repainted work of Beccafumi—the Virgin and Child with St. Anna, St. Ursula and the Magdalen. In the adjoining dormitory is shown an Annunciation by Sano di Pietro, and a room of the officials contains a striking "Noli me Tangere"—preserved in its original brilliant colouring—by Girolamo di Benvenuto. On the R of the Via Cavour are two houses with effective, though, in one case, misapplied, brick façades. Further on, to the L, is the church of **S. Bartolommeo** (SS. Vincenzo and Anastasio) with a charming belfry (seen only with difficulty from the opposite side of the street) dating from the end of the 14th century. The fresco of Christ on the outer wall was one of the oldest in Siena, and was ruined by unnecessary restorations of a year ago. The church, now used as the chapel of the Contrada dell' Istrice, contains a few pictures and the grave of Pintoricchio. In the sacristy is a banner with SS. Vincenzo and Anastasio next the Madonna, possibly by Fungai; in the church itself a charming Virgin and Child with Angels, attributed by Mr. Berenson to Vecchietta; a triptych of the school of Bartolo di Fredi; and, over the L altar, a repainted picture by Sano (covered).

An alley to the L leads, beneath an arch, to the church of **Fontegiusta,** built in 1484 by Francesco Fedeli and Giacomo di Giovanni, both of Como (custodian, house at R). The relief above the entrance—the Virgin and Angels—is certainly not by Neroccio, to whom it is usually attributed, but appears rather to be by Urbano da Cortona. The beautiful marble altar within, the masterpiece of Marrina (1517), is as remarkable for the excessive delicacy of its detail and execution as it is for its fine architectural proportions. Above it is a fresco by Girolamo di Benvenuto, of the Virgin surrounded by many Angels—a late and somewhat heavy work of that master. The small bronze holy-water basin was cast in 1430 by Giovanni delle Bombarde, the father of Pacchia. On the R of the church, 2nd altar, is a Coronation of the Virgin—a quiet and meditative picture, and a most characteristic work of Fungai. The fine bronze tabernacle is by Marrina. On the opposite wall is a repainted fresco of the Sybil announcing the Nativity to Augustus, by Peruzzi. Exaggeration of form and gesture are the principal characteristics of this academical composition, which has received, from some writers, the most excessive praise. The stained-glass window above the entrance—a Madonna with SS. Catherine and Bernardino—is of the late 15th century. For the sake of the curious traveller, we may mention the shield

and whalebones, traditionally said to have been presented to this church by Christopher Columbus. Before reaching the Porta Camollia, we pass a small church with a Gothic portal, **S. Pietro alla Magione** (1), once occupied by the Knights Templar. The adjoining chapel is a well-proportioned work of the early 16th century. In the attic of the priest's house are remnants of frescoes by a direct pupil of the Lorenzetti. To the L of the church, embedded in the wall near No. 77, is a *Quattrocento* bust of St. Peter.

The present **Porta Camollia** was built in 1604 (2). Beyond is the Piazza d' Armi, and the column which marks the spot where the Emperor Frederick III met his bride Leonora of Portugal (3). The Antiporto, rebuilt during the late *Seicento,* was first erected in 1259 as a special defence at a weak point in the city's fortifications. Above this gate stood a famous fresco of the Assumption said to have been begun by Simone Martini and finished by Lippo Memmi, which was long the special object of S. Bernardino's veneration (4). In the valley to the West of the gate lies the Gothic **Fonte Pe-**

(1) For an historical association, see page 33 *supra.*

(2) The first public promenade stretched from this gate to the Antiporto (1309). *Misc. Stor. Sen.* vol. IV. p. 46.

(3) The column appears in Pintoricchio's fresco of the event, in the Libreria del Duomo.

(4) See p. 274 *supra.*

scala. Half a mile beyond the Antiporto stands the brick **Palazzo dei Diavoli** (dei Turchi) with a remarkable round tower adorned with medallions containing fantastic half-figures. The adjacent chapel is an elegant work of Federighi, the delicate yet vigorous terra-cotta frieze being especially worthy of note. A terra-cotta relief of the Assumption, within, is doubtfully attributed to Francesco di Giorgio.

Retracing our steps, we leave the Via di Camollia by the Via Gazzani which opens upon the **Passeggio della Lizza,** the modern promenade of Siena (1). Beyond it we enter the **fortress** of Duke Cosimo I, whence we enjoy a view—particularly fine at sundown—of Siena with her towers and Cathedral, and of the rolling country bounded by a horizon of undulating hill-tops. The little church near the Park, **S. Stefano** contains a fine and characteristic polyptych by Andrea Vanni—on either side of the Virgin and Child are St. Stephen and St. James, the Baptist and St. Bartholomew; the predella is a later adjunct by Giovanni di Paolo. On the corner of the Via Malavolti stands the interesting Pa-

(1) The present authorities are rapidly turning the Fortezza and the Lizza into a monument to their own bad taste. It is time that those citizens who have the city's beauty at heart—and of these there are many—should make a strenuous effort against this spirit of vandalism.

Even while I am writing, many of the noblest trees have been ruthlessly and unnecessarily cut down, the old turf has been cut up into gravel walks, and imitation rockeries are filling the former grassy corners.

lazzo Mocenni, erected by a pupil of Peruzzi. The Via Cavallerizzo leads to the Piazza Pianigiani and the small church of **S. Caterina** (the oratory of the Contrada del Drago) which contains a bust of St. Catherine, executed by Marrina in 1517. The Via Paradiso leads to the **Camporeglo** and the great brick church of **S. Domenico.** The severe yet majestic building dates in its present form from the late *Quattrocento,* being an enlargement of an earlier church which had belonged to the Dominicans since 1225. The present campanile has been considerably lowered since it reached its full height in 1490. The original simplicity of the interior, marred by the usual 17th century additions, once resembled that of S. Francesco. Over the 2nd altar R is a repainted picture by Sano di Pietro. Further on hangs a panel of the B. Caterina de' Lenzi, probably by Giovanni di Paolo. The **Chapel of St. Catherine** remains, to the majority of visitors, the most interesting part of this church. Its walls are covered by frescoes relating to her life, and the marble tabernacle encloses her very head—shown publicly on the occasion of some pertinent feast. The beautiful tabernacle itself is probably by Giovanni di Stefano. On either side of it are famous frescoes by Sodoma (1526), relating to St. Catherine's vision of Christ and her miraculous Communion. The group of the swooning Saint supported by

her companions Alessia and Francesca, in the first of these two paintings, is worthy of much of the excessive praise that has been bestowed upon it, and shows what Sodoma was capable of when pressed to really exert his natural powers. How rarely this was the case, however, the remaining frescoes in the chapel go far to show. Even this would-be masterpiece is not without its obvious defects. The rich gilding and elaborate decoration of the pilaster behind the principal group is a grave artistic fault, and detracts in no small measure from the effect of the whole. The same charge may be laid against the pilaster to the L. The figure of Christ in the upper part of the painting is weak and defective. The fresco of St. Catherine's Communion is much inferior to its companion piece. That on the L wall, representing the execution of Niccolò di Tuldo, shows Sodoma at his worst. The painting opposite, by his pupil Francesco Vanni, representing a miracle of the Saint, requires no special mention. The Prophets and Angels on the arch are by Sodoma, and the figures of the Blessed Raimondo da Capua and the Blessed Tommaso Nacci—biographers of St. Catherine—are by Vanni. The graffito pavement, representing Æsculapius (?) seated among wild beasts, was executed by a follower of Beccafumi (1).

(1) See Mr. Cust's *Pavement Masters of Siena*, pp. 147-149.

Besides the head of St. Catherine, S. Domenico possesses several less important relics (preserved in the sacristy) such as: her portable altar-stone; the dispensation from Pope Gregory to have Mass said on it wherever she went; the sacramental cloths she herself made for it; her discipline; and one of her fingers. Here is also a banner, of the Assumption, painted by Sodoma.

On the last altar on the R of the nave stands a very beautiful picture of the Nativity, by Francesco di Giorgio—perhaps the most Florentine in feeling of all truly Sienese paintings. The fine lunette of the Pietà is by Matteo di Giovanni. The predella, representing a Vision of St. Catherine, the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian, the Massacre of the Innocents, St. Dominic preaching, St. Mary Magdalen, is undoubtedly by Bernardino Fungai. The 1st chapel to the R of the choir contains a small late 14th century Madonna, let into a picture by Sodoma. In the 2nd chapel are the tombs of German students who died while studying at the University of Siena. The high-altar is crowned by a graceful marble Ciborium, flanked by two light-bearing angels—works of the Florentine Benedetto da Maiano. A fine view of the Duomo is to be had from a window back of the altar. The 2nd chapel to the L contains one of the masterpieces of Matteo di Giovanni (1479)—the exquisite panel of

St. Barbara enthroned between the Magdalen and St. Catherine of Alexandria. The rich colouring and careful execution, the lovely heads of the saints, and the delicacy of sentiment, render this picture an everlasting source of pleasure to all who know it. The lunette above, representing the Adoration of the Magi, is also by Matteo. Opposite is a painting by Benvenuto di Giovanni (1483) of the Madonna enthroned with Saints and Angels, and, in the lunette, a Pietà. Brilliant, if somewhat hard, in colour, and dignified and quiet in types, this picture shows the master to great advantage. The dismembered altar-piece in the next chapel, the Virgin and Child with Angels, St. Jerome and the Baptist, is an interesting work by Matteo (unfortunately much darkened), with a remarkable landscape.

Close to the entrance to the church is a chapel peculiarly sacred to St. Catherine—the **Cappella delle Volte.** In her day it was not separated from the body of the church, as at present, and was always her favourite place of prayer. The original steps by which she entered are carefully preserved beneath a grating, and in the centre of the floor is still a piece of the original pavement. Against one of the pillars hangs an old inscription recording the various visions which here befel her. But most interesting, in this chapel of memories of the great Saint,

is her portrait, above the altar, painted by her friend and disciple Andrea Vanni. Apart from its interest as an authentic, if somewhat generalized, portrait, this work possesses no small artistic value, and is remarkable for its decorative feeling. Over the entrance to the chapel hangs a large Crucifix by Sano di Pietro.

In a hallway of the adjoining school—once a cloister of the convent—are fragments of a beautiful fresco doubtfully attributed to Lippo Vanni, a pupil of Simone Martini—a Virgin enthroned with Angels offering roses, and SS. Peter and Paul. The head of the Virgin is exquisite in conception and technique. Near by are the remnants of an Annunciation, and a head of St. Dominic.

A steep and rough path leads down below the apse and massive sub-structures of S. Domenico—the latter now occupied as cavalry barracks—to the quarter of the city known as **Fontebranda,** the home of St. Catherine, then as now permeated by the odour of tanning and dyeing. As we descend, we pass on one side the modern swimming bath and on the other the picturesque structure where the women gossip as they wash their clothes. To our L rises the celebrated **Fonte Branda,** whose delicious waters preserve their icy coolness throughout the hottest weather. Although mentioned as early as 1081, the fountain was probably first

covered only in 1198, by Bellamino, whose name, together with the date, are recorded on an ancient tablet now inserted in the wall of the fountain. His work was replaced some fifty years after its erection by the massive Gothic structure still standing, the event being recorded by another inscription, dated 1246.

Beyond the fountain the **Via Benincasa** leads up into the city. Half way up the street once stood the **house where St. Catherine was born** and spent the greater part of her life. On the site of her father's workshop—he was a dyer—an oratory was built in 1473, and in later years chapels were added where had been the kitchen, the family room, and the garden. The first chapel, which opens on the Via Benincasa, is now the **Oratorio della Contrada dell'Oca.** Its architect was possibly Francesco di Duccio del Guasta. Over the entrance are the arms of the city and those of the contrada—a Goose. The relief of St. Catherine with Angels is by Urbano da Cortona. Over the adjoining entrance to the R is a bust of the Saint by Giacomo Cozzarelli, to whom is also ascribed the double loggia above. Over the altar of the chapel stands a wonderfully beautiful and dignified statue of the Saint, by Neroccio. The fresco of St. Catherine receiving the Stigmata is possibly by Girolamo del Pacchia(1). On the R wall are two other scenes

(1) The accompanying *putti* by Sodoma.

from her life, by the same master: she rescues Dominican friars who are assailed by robbers; she is at the funeral of St. Agnes of Montepulciano, whose foot moves when she stoops to kiss it. The fresco opposite, representing her healing of the Rector of the Hospital of the Misericordia when striken with the plague, is also by Pacchia. That next to it, of St. Catherine assailed by Florentine soldiers, is a later and less interesting work, by Salimbeni. Ascending the stairs we enter a second **Oratory,** the walls of which are covered with modern frescoes, by Franchi, again concerned with the Saint's life. Here is shown the little cell she occupied, and the window from which she gave bread to the poor. On the floor, beneath an iron grating, is her pillow of bricks, and in a case are preserved her scent-bottle for the sick, her lantern for visiting the Hospital at night, the head of her staff, a piece of her hair shirt and her veil, and the sack in which her head was brought from Rome. Above the altar is a panel of the Stigmatization, probably by Guidoccio Cozzarelli. Leaving this chapel we reach a graceful little loggia generally attributed to Peruzzi, but apparently the work of one of his pupils. On the L we are admitted to a third chapel, of the **Confraternita di S. Caterina,** the decorations of which, by late Sienese painters, are illustrative of further scenes of St. Catherine's life. The picture above the

altar, representing her Stigmatization, in a fine architectural frame, is an attractive work of Fungai. The Saints at the sides are by the same master. The ceiling, and the beautiful tiles which pave the chapel (covered), are of the late 16th century. The simple stalls are also worthy of notice. Still higher up, on the other side of the court, is the **Oratorio del SS. Crocifisso,** built in 1533, by G. B. Pelori (?). Above the altar, enclosed behind wooden doors, is a remarkably impressive Crucifix of the school of Giunta Pisano—once in the church of Sta. Cristina at Pisa—before which St. Catherine is said to have received the Stigmata.

To the R of the Via Benincasa rises the sheer **Via della Galluzza,** one of the most picturesque streets in Siena, still spanned by many arches, some of them supported by stone columns with old Romanesque capitals. The steep Costa Sant' Antonio leads up to the **Via delle Belle Arti.** Near by on the right is the **Biblioteca Comunale,** founded in 1663. Here are exposed various manuscripts, and some good illuminated breviaries, missals, etc., among which is one by a Flemish artist of the 15th century, another by Sano di Pietro, and others, again, by Giovanni di Paolo. The chief treasure, however, is a volume of the Greek Gospels, of the 11th century, magnificently bound in covers of silver gilt with raised figures in enamel, probably of

a later date. In the same case is a handsome Franciscan breviary of the 15th century. The Library also possesses valuable sketch-books of Peruzzi, Giuliano di San Gallo and Francesco di Giorgio.

Beyond the Library is situated the **Galleria delle Belle Arti,** the civic picture gallery of Siena, composed almost entirely of paintings of the Sienese masters, and forming one of the most satisfactory collections of a single school in existence (open, with the exception of Sundays, from 10 to 3 and 9 to 4; admission 1 franc). The pictures are arranged in great part chronologically. For reasons of space, mention is here made only of the more important works. The numbering followed is the new one, in red letters (1). The visitor will do well to commence with **Stanza I,** which is devoted to the work of Duccio and his immediate followers, and to the Italo-Byzantine painting which preceded the coming of that master. **1.** An altar-piece representing Christ, surrounded by Scenes from His Passion, painted on a surface of raised gesso. A good example of the crude Italian work of the early 13th century (dated 1215). **2.** An effigy of St. Francis, from the workshop of *Margaritone* of Arezzo—one of the many similar figures turned

(1) I have to thank the director of the Gallery and his assistants for their kindness in hastening the renumbering of the pictures, that I might adopt the new enumeration in this Guide.

out by that craftsman and his school during the middle of the *Dugento.* **14.** Panel with a figure of St. John Baptist enthroned in royal garments, surrounded by scenes from his life—the most markedly Byzantine of all these early works, peculiarly oriental in colour and in types. **15.** A somewhat similar panel, with St. Peter as the central subject. Of the accompanying scenes, that of the Annunciation is particularly noteworthy for its successful representation of movement. Opposite, hung here for convenience, is a large Crucifix, **56.**, by Taddeo Bartoli. **16.** Colossal Virgin and Child, probably by the artist known as *Guido da Siena,* at any rate typical of the work which he represents. This picture gives a far better idea than does the repainted Madonna in the Palazzo Pubblico of what the painting of Guido really was. **18.** Madonna—clearly not by Gilio di Pietro, who lived in the middle of the 13th century, but by a post-Ducciesque master. **20.** Tiny Virgin and Child with Angels and worshipping Monks, by *Duccio* —one of the master's earlier works, showing, at once, the immense superiority of his art over that of his Tuscan predecessors. Nothing could be more delicate than the colour and execution of this damaged little panel, nothing, again, more truly Byzantine in its feeling. The figure of the Virgin is particularly graceful, and the flow of her drapery exquisite. **21.** A Crucifix of the

school of Duccio. **23.** Small and damaged panel of the Magdalen, by *Duccio.* **22.** The Baptist and St. Peter with Angels above, by *Duccio.* **28.** Altar-piece with the Virgin and Child, SS. Paul and Augustine, SS. Peter and Dominic; above, Christ blessing, and Angels with sceptres— a mature work of *Duccio.* **29.** St. Peter, **30.** St. Anthony Abbot, **31.** St. Augustine, **32.** St. Paul—all by a pupil of Duccio. **33.** Altar-piece, a good school work. **35.** Small triptych with Scenes from the Life of Christ, by *Duccio.* This delicately coloured panel is one of the most beautiful of the master's remaining works. **36.** A finely modelled Crucifix, by a direct pupil of Duccio, doubtfully attributed to Massarello di Gilio. **40.** Madonna with St. Paul, the Evangelist and St. Bernard, a signed work by *Segna di Bonaventura,* one of the closest of Duccio's followers. **42.** St. Ansanus, **43.** St. Galganus, also by *Segna* —showing a slight divergence from Duccio's manner and that of Segna's earlier works. **46.** Large Crucifix—a somewhat heavy work by *Niccolò,* the son of Segna (1345). **47.** Polyptych of the Virgin and Child with Saints, Prophets and Angels, a grand but sadly damaged work of *Duccio.* Especially noticeable are the lovely St. Agnes, the Prophet Daniel, and the Angels in the pinnacles. **48.** St. Francis, **49.** St. Louis— by a follower of Simone Martini. **50.** Polyptych, by a pupil of Pietro Lorenzetti. **51.** Large altar-

piece, by a follower of Lippo Memmi and the Lorenzetti, wrongly attributed to Lippo himself. **52**. St. Paul, **53**. The Baptist—strongly characterized panels by a near pupil of Ambrogio Lorenzetti, if not by that master himself.

Stanza II contains some works belonging to the grandest period of Sienese art, although the most characteristic of Siena's painters, Simone Martini, is here conspicuous by his absence. **61**. Assumption of the Virgin (considerably damaged), by *Pietro Lorenzetti*—reminiscent of Simone. To judge of the splendid decorative effect of this hieratic picture, we should regard it from a distance. One of the earliest representations of this subject, which remained, throughout the the history of Sienese painting, a favourite one with her artists. **59**. A fine St. Gregory, of the school of Pietro Lorenzetti. **60**. Small triptych of the Virgin enthroned, with interesting side-scenes, attributed to *Bernardo Daddi,* a direct pupil of Giotto (1336)—an important little picture, healthy in colour and careful in execution. **65**. Small panel of the Virgin and Child, surrounded by Angels, SS. Catherine and Dorothy, and the four adoring Doctors of the Church, by *Ambrogio Lorenzetti.* This work is one of the most precious treasures of the Gallery, showing, as it does, all that is greatest and best in Ambrogio's art. The perfect composition in receding planes, the subtle modelling of the figures,

the lovely colour—all go towards making this little painting a masterpiece of the highest quality. **67**. Triptych (exceptionally well preserved) of St. Michael with St. Anthony Abbot and the Baptist—a somewhat heavy, but not uninteresting, work of a pupil of Lippo Memmi, erroneously attributed to that master himself. **77**. Polyptych of the Madonna, the Magdalen and St. Dorothy, the Evangelist and the Baptist, and, below, the Deposition—a noble work of *Ambrogio Lorenzetti*. The worshipping figure of the Magdalen and the hauntingly beautiful St. Dorothy are two of the finest of Ambrogio's creations. The damaged but effective panel of the Deposition, evidently a composition original with this master, was extensively copied by his followers and imitators, there being no less than three versions of it in this same room. **74**. St. Peter, **72**. St. Paul—by a close follower of Lippo Memmi. **70**. and **71**. Two naïvely realistic seascapes, by *Pietro Lorenzetti (?)*. **73**. Centre of a triptych, Madonna with Saints and Angels, attributed to *Bernardo Daddi*. **80**. Virgin and Child enthroned, surrounded by beautiful Angels, by *Pietro Lorenzetti*—a characteristic work still plainly showing the influence of Duccio. **76**. Madonna with two Angels, by a pupil of Pietro, closely resembling the preceding picture. **79**. The Baptist, **81**. St. Cecilia, **82**. St. Bartholomew—also by a pupil of Pietro. **92**. Allegory of Sin, from the Fall of Adam to

the Redemption, a darkened and heavily varnished panel by *Pietro Lorenzetti*—especially remarkable for its landscape. **88.** The Annunciation, by *Ambrogio Lorenzetti* (painted in 1344). A very wonderful work of this master, intensely passionate in feeling, and sumptuous in its golden colour. **89.** St. Anthony Abbot, **91.** St. Maximin, by *Ambrogio Lorenzetti.* **87.** and **95.** Two Prophets, by a follower of Lippo Memmi. **85.** The Baptist, **86.** St. Catherine, **93.** St. Paul, **94.** The Evangelist—delicately painted works of an artist very near to Simone Martini in technique and in style. **83.** and **84.** Parts of a predella which probably belonged to a picture executed for the church of the Carmine, in 1329, by *Pietro Lorenzetti.* **100.** Four scenes from the Life of the Virgin, which, together with the surrounding paintings —**101.** the Assumption, **99.** Predella, **97.** and **102.** Pilasters ornamented with figures of Saints—formed part of a large polyptych painted for the church of S. Francesco in Montalcino, by *Bartolo di Fredi,* in 1388. Pleasing works, quiet in sentiment and gay in colour. **98.** and **103.** are Predelle by the same master. **104.** Adoration of the Magi, again by *Bartolo di Fredi*—a mannered work, showing all the artist's defects and few of his merits. **106.** SS. Anthony Abbot and Onofrio, especially attractive little panels, also by *Bartolo di Fredi.* **107.** Madonna enthroned (signed, and dated 1355)—a characteristic work

of *Taddeo Gaddi,* in his better style, despite its roughness of execution. Plainly showing its derivation from Giotto's altar-piece in the Academy at Florence. **108.** Marriage of St. Catherine, a beautiful panel by an unknown follower of Simone and Pietro Lorenzetti. Opposite, **145.** Triptych, by *Giacomo di Mino del Pellicciaio* —coarsely repainted. The faces, however, are in great part untouched and retain their softness of type. As to style this picture has little in common with that by the same master in the Servi. **109.** Polyptych of St. Anna with the Virgin and Child, St. Catherine and the Baptist, St. Anthony and another Saint, by *Luca di Tommè* (signed, 1367). A pleasing picture, and one of the few authenticated works of this artist. **114.** Tabernacle, possibly a fragment of a larger painting—a genuine but poor work of *Andrea Vanni.* **111.** Crucifixion and Predella (on linen), by a pupil of Bartolo di Fredi. **115.** Altar-piece by *Bartolommeo di Nutino (?).* **116.** Large panel of the Birth of the Virgin, with SS. James and Catherine, Bartholomew and Elizabeth, by *Paolo di Giovanni Fei*—a naturalistic treatment of a subject much in vogue among the Sienese painters. **126.** Three Saints, also by *Paolo di Giovanni Fei.* **119.** Coronation of the Virgin, **125.** Death of the Virgin, by *Spinello Aretino*—pleasing in colour and executed with that artist's usual rough security of hand. Here follows a series

of pictures by *Taddeo Bartoli:* **131**. Large panel of the Annunciation (darkened by smoke and dirt), a free transcription of Simone's picture in the Uffizi—much below the average of Taddeo's work in merit; **128**. A small and enamel-like triptych of the Madonna enthroned with SS. Anthony and Catherine, Nicholas and Jerome, showing Taddeo in his most pleasing phase; **127**. An Adoration of the Magi; **132**. A Nativity; **134**. Martyrdom of SS. Cosmo and Damian, remarkable for energy of action—a point in the successful carrying out of which the Sienese were not usually over proficient; **130**. St. Agnes (?)—a charming little figure; **135**. St. Matthew; **144**. and **143**. Annunciation—beautiful but sadly damaged fragments. **78**. A small Beato, hung among the pictures of the Lorenzetti, is also a work of *Taddeo.*

Stanza III contains works of the earlier half of the 15th century. **149**. Triumph of Death, **150**. Triumph of Chastity, **151**. Triumph of Love, **152**. Triumph of Fame. Four delightful and much questioned panels, attributed by Mr. Berenson to *Pier Francesco Fiorentino*—certainly not of the Sienese school to which they have usually been ascribed. **154**. A small and delicate triptych, by a follower of Taddeo. **157**. Triptych of a seated Madonna, with the Baptist and St. Nicholas, St. Augustine, and the Annunciation—a lovely little work of the school of Lorenzo Mo-

naco. Opposite are two panels of the Madonna with Saints—**220**. and **219**.—characteristic examples of *Martino di Bartolommeo,* a pupil of Taddeo Bartoli. **164**. Seated Madonna surrounded by music-making Angels, by *Domenico di Bartolo* (signed, 1433)—an interesting picture, inspired by a study of Florentine painting, and illustrating the artist's power, or desire of it, to express values of modelling. **166**. A fine little Temptation of St. Anthony, by *Sassetta.* **167**. The Last Supper, also by *Sassetta,* has all the pleasing colouring of this master, the careful execution, and individual expression. **168**. The four patron Saints of Siena, Ansanus, Victor, Savinus and Crescentius, and **169**., the Four Fathers of the Church—quiet and dignified figures—again by *Sassetta.* **171**. Marriage of St. Catherine of Alexandria, signed *Michelinus.* This curious and interesting panel is the work of a painter, possibly North Italian, under the direct influence of the school of Cologne. Then follows a group of pictures by the highly original and ever changeful *Giovanni di Paolo,* showing the varied influences under which this master worked. **173**. An imposing polyptych, with a hieratic figure of St. Nicholas, and attendant Saints (signed 1453). **172**. Predella of the Last Judgment—the Paradise containing many details of naïve charm and grace. **191**. Smaller polyptych of the Virgin with Saints—very careful in execution. **178**. Small

triptych of the Madonna with Saints and Angels. **174**. Presentation, **175**. Crucifixion, **176**. Journey into Egypt—pleasing early works. **193**. and **197**. Full-length figures of the Baptist and St. Dominic, clearly showing the influence of the art of Taddeo Bartoli. **195**. St. Mark, showing the influence of Bartolo di Fredi. **199**. St. Galganus and the Magdalen, and **201**. St. Bernard and St. Romuald —divisions of a large polyptych of which the interesting Predella, **198**., relating to the lives of the above-mentioned Saints, once formed a part. **200**. The Crucifixion (1440). **177**. A small but characteristic triptych by *Sassetta*—the St. Catherine being a particularly graceful little figure. **185**. A seated Madonna, by a close pupil of Sassetta. **184**. A softly colour little panel, mis-placed, by a follower of the Lorenzetti. On the opposite wall is a much damaged, but extremely decorative, cassone, **217**., representing the Triumph of David, by *Neroccio di Landi*. **216**. and **218**. Predelle, by *Pellegrino di Mariano*, both illustrating his close relationship to Sano di Pietro. Above are three panels by *Giovanni di Paolo:* **213**. St. James, **214**. Kneeling Bishop, **215**. St. Andrew. **203**. A figure of St. Bernardino, by *Pietro di Giovanni* (signed). **204**. The large front of a press, formerly in the Hospital, decorated by *Vecchietta* (in 1445) with Sienese Saints and Beati, the four patron Saints being on the extreme right and left; above, the An-

nunciation; on the reverse of the doors, scenes from the Passion—these last being rough and hastily executed, and narrowly verging on caricature. **205**. St. Bernardino, by the same master. **206**. A Virgin and Child seated in the open air, with a quaintly interesting landscape background—an early and delightful work of *Giovanni di Paolo,* very suggestive of Sassetta. **207**. Madonna with Angels, of the school of Domenico di Bartolo. **211**. On the opposite wall, Circumcision, by *Giovanni di Paolo.* A literal copy—with Giovanni's types—of Ambrogio Lorenzetti's composition now in the Academy at Florence. **210**. Grandiose Virgin and Child enthroned with SS. Peter and Paul, a signed and late work of *Vecchietta,* unfortunately ruined. **212**. Allegory of the Redemption—a strange painting by *Giovanni di Paolo.* **208**. Christ blessing, by the same master—warm in colour. **209**. Adoration of the Christ-Child by the Virgin, SS. Francis and Dominic. A work of the eclectic *Pier Francesco Fiorentino* (1), painted under the direct inspiration of Benozzo Gozzoli.

Stanza IV and **Stanza V** are devoted entirely to paintings of *Sano di Pietro* and his assistants. The visitor may here be left to his own enjoyment of this loveable artist, and particular mention need be made only of the following works,

(1) It is almost unnecessary to say that this painter is not to be confounded with the great Piero dei Franceschi, although such an absurd mistake has frequently been made by some would-be "art students".

as being the finest of the collection. **226**. Polyptych—noticeable for the figure of St. Benedict. **228**. Madonna with Angels and Saints, in the original frame. **227**. Small and decorative Assumption of the Virgin—rich in colour. **231**. Polyptych, of which the central panel of the Virgin and Child is especially delicate and winning. **233**. A lovely triptych of the Madonna surrounded by Angels, SS. Cosmo and Damian, and a beautiful predella of scenes from their lives, with SS. Catherine and Bernardino at either end—probably the finest of all Sano's larger panels. **235**. St. Ansanus. **238**. St. Bernardino. **241**. The Virgin commending her city of Siena to Callistus III—interesting for the subject apart from its artistic charm. **260**. (Next room) Polyptych of the Assumption, with dignified Saints. **259**. Fine predella. **265**. Small panel of St. Jerome in the Desert. **255**. Another predella. **254**. Madonna with four Saints and two Angels.

The badly lighted **Stanza VI** contains paintings by three of the best Sienese artists of the late 15th century—Francesco di Giorgio, Matteo di Giovanni, and *Neroccio di Landi*, the latter being particularly well represented. By this great and insufficiently appreciated master there are no less than seven panels, every one of which should be carefully and reverently studied. **281**. An early and exquisite picture of the Ma-

donna with SS. Bernardino and Jerome. **282.** Triptych of the Virgin and Child, St. Michael and St. Bernardino (signed, 1476)—the central panel being one of the supremely lovely creations of the Sienese *Quattrocento*. **285.** Virgin with Child standing erect, and SS. Catherine and Bernardino. **287.** Madonna with four Saints, having much in common with the work of Neroccio's contemporary and partner, Francesco di Giorgio, with whom the master is often confounded even by intelligent critics. **295.** Madonna with the Baptist and another Saint. **294.** Madonna with St. John and St. Andrew. **278.** Virgin and Child enthroned, with six Saints, a large work of the master's later years, signed, and dated 1492. By *Francesco di Giorgio* are: three small and curious predelle, **274.**, **275.**, **276.**, representing Potiphar's wife, Susanna, and Joseph sold by his Brethren; **277.** The Annunciation—a fascinating little picture, very graceful in movement and in line; **288.** Virgin and Child with a beautiful Angel, in a landscape; and **293.** Madonna with two Saints—a later work. **286.** A Virgin and Child enthroned, with four delightful Angels, is the earliest signed work (1470) which we possess from the brush of *Matteo di Giovanni*. **280.** Madonna with St. John, St. James, and two Angels—a particularly Sanesque picture by the same master (still in its old frame). **283.** Another, and very beautiful, Madonna, in a rocky land-

scape, also by *Matteo.* **284**. Panel of the school of Francesco di Giorgio, wrongly attributed to Matteo. **279**. Adoration of the Shepherds, an interesting work, with a peculiarly Umbrian landscape, by *Pietro di Domenico.* At the opposite end of the room are two pictures by *Cozzarelli*—**296**., St. Sebastian, and **297**., an allegorical representation of the Virgin (?) **298**. Enthroned Madonna with four Saints (signed, 1500), by *Andrea di Niccolò,* a much damaged but characteristic example of his style. **299**. Small Nativity, with a remarkably spacious landscape, by *Suor Barbera Ragnoni,* possibly a copy of a work of the school of Pacchiarotto.

In **Stanza VII** are hung damaged and fragmentary paintings. **325**., next the entrance, a dimmed and blackened Virgin and Child, was once a beautiful and highly characteristic work of *Sassetta.* Next to it, **324**., hangs an Assumption by *Giovanni di Paolo.* **323**. A ruined Madonna by *Sano di Pietro.* **313**. A remarkable Italo-Byzantine picture of St. Francis, surrounded by scenes from his life (much damaged by restoration). **306**. Charming Virgin of the Annunciation, by *Francesco di Giorgio*—a mere fragment. On the entrance wall, a polyptych by *Paolo di Giovanni Fei.* The engravings are unimportant.

In the passage-way is the wreck of a large Assumption, once an ambitious work of *Pacchiarotto,* and in the hall hangs a polyptych by *Gio-*

vanni di Paolo. Of chief interest to the majority of visitors in **Stanza VIII** is *Sodoma's* fresco of Christ bound to the Column—once in the church of S. Francesco—an extravagantly overlauded work, realistically conceived, but lacking in real refinement. The surface modelling of the flesh is here admirable and careful, although, as is almost invariably the case with Sodoma, the figure conveys but a poor idea of structural strength. **333.**, Ransom of Prisoners, and **334.**, Escape of Æneas from Troy, are frescoes originally painted for the palace of Pandolfo Petrucci, by *Girolamo Genga,* showing the direct influence of Signorelli. **342.** A fine but darkened little panel of the Nativity, by *Girolamo di Benvenuto.* **346.** An Angel, by *Balducci.* **354.** Judith, a pleasing work of *Sodoma.* **359.** Madonna with SS. Francis and Catherine, by *Balducci.* **360.**, **361.**, **326.**, **327.**, four bierheads, are wrongly attributed to Sodoma himself. The six delicately carved wooden pilasters, by Antonio Barili, once formed a part of the decorations of the Palazzo del Magnifico.

Stanza IX is devoted to the compositions of the Sienese eclectics of the early *Cinquecento.* **363.** A characteristic Madonna by *Fungai.* **365.** Nativity with adoring Saints (on linen), by *Andrea di Niccolò,* clearly showing the influence of Francesco di Giorgio. **366.** Five small Saints, by *Pacchiarotto.* **367.** Madonna enthroned, with

St. Jerome and the Blessed Giovanni Colombini (1482), by *Cozzarelli.* **368.** The Crucifixion and Saints (1502), by *Andrea di Niccolò.* **369.** Deposition, a late and remarkable work of *Girolamo di Benvenuto.* **370.** Four Saints, **372.** Nativity of the Virgin, and **373.** Dead Christ supported by Angels, are by *Girolamo di Benvenuto.* Three panels of the Madonna with Saints, **374.**, **375.**, **376.**, are exceptionally pleasing works by *Fungai,* the last-named showing the marked influence of Francesco di Giorgio. Above, and on the opposite wall, hang four little paintings by *Balducci;* **377.** Faith, **379.** Charity, **381.** Fortitude, **393.** Justice. **384.** Triptych of the Trinity and four Saints (1512), an early work of *Beccafumi.* **383.** Small Assumption, by *Girolamo di Benvenuto.* **382.**, above, Madonna with St. Jerome and St. Bartholomew, is by *Pietro di Domenico.* **386.**, Adoration of the Magi, and **391.**, Madonna with St. Jerome and St. Francis, are by *Balducci.* **390.** and **397.** Two panels by *Pietro di Domenico,* representing the Nativity, and the Madonna with SS. Jerome and Anthony of Padua. **395.** Pleasing little Virgin and Child, by *Girolamo di Benvenuto* (fragment). **398.** and **364.** Four Saints, crude works, possibly by Balducci. Four pilasters, similar to those in Stanza VIII, by Barili.

Stanza X contains large, although not always the most important, works of the Sienese Renaissance. To the L of the entrance are two

small panels by *Cozzarelli:* **445**. St. Catherine giving her heart to Christ, **446**. Madonna with Saints. **441**. Assumption of the Virgin, one of *Fungai*'s poorer pictures. **440**. Coronation of the Virgin (1471). A remarkable and very characteristic work, by *Francesco di Giorgio,* somewhat hard in colour, but full of interesting details. The principal group is the most beautiful portion of the picture. **437**. Nativity with SS. Bernardino and Ambrose (1475), by the same master —a prelude to his Nativity in S. Domenico. **436**. Polyptych of the Virgin and Child with attendant Angels, St. Michael and St. Catherine, a Bishop and St. Lucy, and a beautiful predella of scenes from the Life of the Virgin (1475)— a splendid work of *Benvenuto di Giovanni,* contrasting strangely with the master's later picture of the Ascension, **434**., hanging next to it. This severe and imposing altar-piece, painted in 1491, is an example of the striking change which came over Benvenuto during the latter part of his career. **432**. Madonna enthroned with SS. Cosmo and Damian, SS. Sebastian and Galganus, probably designed by Matteo, but executed by *Cozzarelli.* **433**. Round picture of the Madonna with two Saints, by Girolamo Genga. **431**. Enthroned Virgin and Child with Saints and Angels (1512), by *Fungai,* in one of that master's favourite landscapes. **428**. Calvary—of the school of Francesco di Giorgio. **427**. Christ

descending into Limbo, the Penitent Thief behind Him, an academic but not uninteresting painting, by *Beccafumi.* On the end wall are two altar-pieces by *Pacchiarotto:* **426.** A charming but weak Visitation, with St. Michael and St. Francis; **424.** Madonna enthroned, with dignified figures of St. Onofrio and St. Bartholomew. **423.** Fall of Lucifer, a riotous and chaotic work of *Beccafumi.* **422.** Ascension of Christ, by *Pacchiarotto.* **421.** Pleasing predella by the same master, of three scenes from the Life of Christ and two from that of St. Catherine. **420.** St. Catherine receiving the Stigmata, one of the best works of *Beccafumi,* obviously painted while under the sway of the Florentine school, and especially that of Fra Bartolommeo. This latter influence is particularly noticeable in the landscape, with its wonderful atmospheric effects. **417. 418. 419.** Predella of scenes from the Life of St. Catherine, by the same artist. **414.** Virgin and Child enthroned, with four Saints, and Angels carrying snow-balls (signed, 1508), by *Girolamo di Benvenuto*--the colour much darkened. The fine head of St. Catherine of Alexandria is evidently a portrait. The lunette of the Nativity is by *Matteo di Giovanni.* **413.** Descent from the Cross, one of the first works painted by *Sodoma* after his arrival in Siena—well composed, hard and disagreeable in colour, with a miniature-like landscape. For Sodoma, the picture is careful in

execution and fairly correct as to drawing. **410**. The Annunciation, and, in the background, the Visitation (1518), a poor *Pacchia*. **409**. Enthroned Virgin and Child with six Saints, by *Andrea Brescianino*—well, although somewhat academically, composed; on the whole this artist's masterpiece. The softly coloured predella is by the same hand. **407**. The Nativity, obviously not by Pintoricchio, to whom it is ascribed—given by Mr. Berenson to *Balducci*. **406**., a predella—full of open air effects—although belonging to another picture, is also by *Balducci*. **405**. An impressionistic Nativity, by *Beccafumi*, suggesting a comparison with Sodoma's picture of the same subject, in the Carmine, to which it is by no means inferior. **404**. Drawing by *Vecchietta* for his tabernacle in the Duomo. **401**. Gethsemane, and **443**. Descent into Limbo—damaged frescoes by *Sodoma*, once in the oratory of Sta. Croce. Were it not for its poor and overcrowded composition, the latter, more particularly, would rank as one of the best of Sodoma's works. The figure of Christ deserves a special word of praise—that of the graceful Eve is too well known to need comment. **399**. and **400**., two small panels of the Madonna with Saints, are particularly attractive works of *Matteo di Giovanni*. Hanging above the pictures are some of the cartoons for the pavement in the Duomo, by *Beccafumi*, many of them remarkable

for their bold and certain drawing, and clearly showing, in this respect, the master's immeasurable superiority over his favoured rival Sodoma.

In **Stanza XI** is a miscellaneous collection of pictures of different schools, the majority being of no artistic value. **451**. and **464**., the Magdalen and St. Catherine (on either side of the entrance), attributed to Fra Bartolommeo, are uninteresting works of *Albertinelli.* **454**. A remarkable portrait, of Queen Elizabeth, by *Zuccaro,* probably executed in England while that artist was Painter to the Queen. **462**. and **488**. Two paintings of the German school, by *Albrecht Altdorfer.* **495**. The Holy Family, in a beautiful Umbrian landscape—a popular work of *Pintoricchio.* **503**. Virgin and Child with the Baptist, by *Genga.* **504**. A fine little portrait of Charles V, attributed to *Amberger.* **512**. Nativity, with an Angel and a little St. John, a carefully executed *Sodoma,* showing decided Florentine influence. **537**. Lucretia—school of Lucas Kranach. **544**. A picture of the Annunciation, with splendid space effects, and a glorious landscape with a wonderful play of light and shade—a much neglected masterpiece of *Paris Bordone.*

Just outside the entrance to Stanza X stands a Winged Victory, which once had a place on the Roman Porta Aurea (1). In the hall beyond

(1) See p. 156, note 1 *supra.*

are remnants of Pisanesque sculptures, and reliefs of the Apostles, in grey stone, by Giovanni Turini.

On the corner of the Via delle Belle Arti and the Via delle Terme stands the church of **S. Pellegrino.** In the atrium is an impressive figure of the Blessed Andrea Gallerani, by Taddeo Bartoli, and within the church are two Apostles—St. Peter, in papal attire, and St. Paul —works of the *Trecento.* Over No. 8 **Via delle Terme** is a fine emblem of the Guild of Masons. Further on, a covered shrine contains a very lovely and decorative Virgin and Child by Giovanni di Paolo—one of that master's most captivating pictures (key to be had at Vicolo del Forcone 1 ; fee). To the L. of the modern Piazza dell' Indipendenza rises the stone **Torre del Mignanelli** where formerly were hung the public bells. We return to the **Croce del Travaglio** by the Via Cavour.

ENVIRONS

PERHAPS even more beautiful than the city itself are the numberless walks and drives about Siena, a description of which would easily fill a lengthy separate volume. Space here forbids, however, mention of any save the more important points in the immediate vicinity. The

rest are reserved for a future supplement to this present Guide.

About a mile and a half beyond the Porta Ovile is situated the convent of the **Osservanza.** The site of the present buildings was once occupied by a hermitage, which was presented to S. Bernardino in 1404. Here a church was raised in 1423—rebuilt in 1485, on the designs of Cozzarelli. It still contains several fine pictures, and other objects of interest. Over the 1st altar L is a Madonna by Sano—two of the angels above, the wings of those below, and the mantle of the Madonna, being 17th century renovations. On the 2nd altar stands one of the masterpieces —in sentiment, in colour and in composition— of Andrea della Robbia, representing the Coronation of the Virgin, with music-making Angels and attendant Saints. Over the 3rd altar is another picture by Sano, the predella of which has been misplaced beneath a painting of Taddeo Bartoli, in the adjoining chapel—a polyptych of eight Saints (dated 1413). To either side of the high-altar are statues of the Annunciation, of the school of Andrea della Robbia, that of the Virgin being particularly fine in attitude. Beneath the altar are preserved relics of S. Bernardino, in a reliquary of the 15th century. In the choir hangs a panel of St. Catherine with a kneeling female pilgrim, by Girolamo di Benvenuto, and a signed (1439) picture of S. Ber-

nardino, by Pietro di Giovanni. The sacristy contains: a terra-cotta Pietà, by Cozzarelli, in which feeling for grace of expression predominates over that for realistic presentation; the tomb-stone of Pandolfo Petrucci; and inlaid presses of the early *Cinquecento*. The 4th altar on the R of the nave supports a splendid triptych by Sassetta, representing the Virgin and Child, St. Ambrose and St. Jerome, and above, half-figures of Christ, SS. Peter and Paul, and an exquisite little Annunciation. The statue of St. Anthony of Padua, in the 1st chapel, is by Cozzarelli. In the crypt is preserved the cell once inhabited by S. Bernardino. The **Certosa of Pontignano,** a few miles beyond the Osservanza is a ruined but picturesque abbey of the 14th century.

About a mile to the sonthwest of the Porta S. Marco lies the former monastery of Sant' Eugenio (1), now modernized and occupied as a private residence, and known simply as **Monistero.** In the chapel are two large frescoes—the Resurrection and the Crucifixion—late and remarkable works of Benvenuto di Giovanni. Over an altar to the R is a pleasing Virgin and Child with two Angels, by Francesco di Giorgio, and over that to the L, a very beautiful Madonna by Ambrogio Lorenzetti. The sacristy contains a Virgin and Child of the school of

(1) See p. 21 *supra*.

Duccio—restored, as, indeed, are all the pictures here—and a St. Ansanus and a Bishop, by Taddeo Bartoli (1).

Three miles beyond the Porta Fontebranda is situated the **Villa of Belcaro** (visitors are usually admitted, here as at the Monastero, by a caretaker, who expects a fee). From the ramparts we enjoy a superb and boundless view of Siena and the surrounding country. The small room opening on one end of this airy promenade contains a Madonna with two Saints, by Matteo, and two small panels of the *Trecento*. On the ground floor is a ceiling fresco, the Judgment of Paris, by Peruzzi, and in the church and greenhouse, other frescoes, quite modernized in the latter instance, by the same master.

Some three miles beyond Belcaro lies the Augustinian abbey of **Lecceto,** now belonging to the Seminario in Siena—occupied only by a contadino, save when students from the Seminary make it their summer residence. Always a spot of absolute tranquillity and great natural beauty, the inmates of the convent were famous for their piety and gentle deeds (2). For their edification were depicted, in one of their cloisters, a series

(1) Matteo's great Assumption of the Virgin, now in the National Gallery at London, once stood upon the high-altar of this church.

(2) Mr. Heywood's *Ensamples of Fra Filippo* gives a graphic account of that friar's writings concerning the monastery and its legends.

of scenes which set forth the life of the convent and the life of the world—highly interesting works, of which the detail deserves very careful inspection—probably painted by Paolo di Maestro Neri (in 1343 ?), a pupil of Ambrogio Lorenzetti. The second cloisters contain frescoes dating from the early *Quattrocento,* some of them completely restored, representing scenes from the life of St. Augustine, and from the lives of the monks themselves. Over the entrance to the church is a fresco of Christ, also by Paolo di Maestro Neri (?). Within the church are remnants of frescoes of the *Trecento,* and, in the floor, a tomb of a knight of the Saracini family.

The ruined hermitage of **S. Leonardo al Lago,** charmingly situated on the plain, a few miles beyond, belonged to the convent of Lecceto. The church alone now remains intact. In the apse are remarkable frescoes, of scenes from the life of the Virgin, and, in the vaulting, of choirs of singing and playing Angels, by a follower of the Lorenzetti. The visitor may return to Siena by way of the **Villa Sta. Colomba** (1).

Other points of especial interest, which may be visited by carriage, and to which must be devoted an entire day, are, the beautiful Gothic ruin of **S. Galgano,** and the Monastery of **Monte**

(1) See p. 164 *supra.*

Oliveto Maggiore, where are famous frescoes by Signorelli and Sodoma. Still another day's excursion can be made to **San Gimignano;** but as that little town contains many beautiful monuments, such a short visit is both unfair and unsatisfactory.



APPENDIX

[redacted]

ENGLISH WORKS ON SIENA

To those readers who do not understand Italian, a few words concerning the principal English books dealing with Siena may, perhaps, prove useful.

HISTORY

Of course, the first requisite is a good history; and here a choice may be made between two important works, both published within the last three months, by authors already well known to the public. We refer to *A History of Siena* by Langton Douglas, and *The Story of Siena and San Gimignano* by Edmund G. Gardner.

To speak first of the slighter work. We recollect that Mr Gardner's *Florence* was ticketed by a leading review as "a glorified guide-book". This description admirably fits his *Story of Siena and San Gimignano.* Judged by such a criterion the book leaves little to be desired; and, for the tourist who merely wishes to obtain such a general idea of the history of the mediæval city as will enable him to do his sight-seeing intelligently, no more charming volume could well be imagined, for the author seldom fails to illuminate the dull details of topography by the

associations of the sites described. Chapter X., *Through the City of the Virgin,* appears to us to supply a long felt want, while the points of interest in the neighbourhood of the town are duly noted, and the reader is carried as far afield as Lecceto, Monte Oliveto and S. Galgano.

Considered as a serious history, the book is less satisfactory. The account of the early years of the Commune, almost up to the Battle of Montaperti, is quite inadequate—a fact which can hardly cause surprise when we seek in vain, in the " Bibliographical Appendix ", for any mention of Professor Zdekauer's edition of the *Constituto del Comune di Siena dell' anno 1262* (1), a work of the utmost importance to the student of the political history of Siena during the Imperial or Ghibelline period.

From the closing years of the 13th century onward, there is, it is true, a marked improvement; though, even here, the narrative never rises much above the level of a chronicle. The book, as a whole, gives us the impression of having been somewhat hastily written, and, were we unacquainted with Mr Gardner's previous

(1) In the *English Historical Review* of January, 1900, will be found a very able article by E. ARMSTRONG dealing with these statutes. It is, in fact, a review of Professor Zdekauer's great work, and for those who do not understand Italian, and who are therefore unable to read the preliminary dissertation, it will unquestionably form an invaluable introduction to the Latin text.

record, we should constantly find ourselves wondering whether this was the hurried work of a very able man who had neglected to properly assimilate his facts, or that of a distinctly second class writer who could do no better—the pot-boiler of a master, or the finished effort of a tyro. At the best the result is a fine impressionistic sketch. For the serious student it has comparatively little value.

Professor Douglas' *History of Siena,* on the other hand, is the result of long and often original research, and covers the whole Sienese story, political, social and artistic. Preeminently scholarly, it is nevertheless neither dull nor ponderous, and will, we doubt not, receive as warm a welcome from the general reader as from the student. We are not afraid to prophesy that it is destined to find an honoured place among the very limited number of English books which can seriously be regarded as valuable contributions to Italian history.

We freely admit that it is rather hard on Mr Gardner that the almost simultaneous publication of the two works should have rendered the drawing of a comparison between them inevitable, for neither in accuracy, scholarship, nor grasp of subject, is his book able to stand the test. They are both good; both may be read with profit; but the superiority of the one over the other is beyond question.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

With regard to the social life of the old Sienese, their manners, customs and beliefs, the reader may consult *The "Ensamples" of Fra Filippo. A Study of Mediœval Siena,* by William Heywood. This is, as far as we are aware, the only English work which deals at all fully with these important subjects. (See pages 144-145 *supra*).

ART

We cannot too strongly urge upon the reader that, when studying whatsoever work of art, he use his own eyes rather than those of others. Yet few of us are sufficiently trained to be able to see for ourselves. Naturally, therefore, in most cases, our taste in art is formed by the books consulted. We suggest, as useful and reliable, the following works which have to do with the art of Siena.

As has already been said, the two most important works on Sienese painting are Crowe and Cavalcaselle's section on the same, in their monumental *History of Painting in Italy* (the Italian edition is at present the best) (1), and Mr Berenson's

(1) We believe that a new English edition of this work is to be published by Mr Murray during this coming year (1903), which is to contain much new material collected by the authors since the publication of the first edition, and some of which is not to be found in the Italian version. It is also to contaion notes by Professor Langton Douglas and Mr S. Arthur Strong.

Central Italian Painters of the Renaissance. The first serious study of Sienese painters was made by Sig. Cavalcaselle, and his work is both thorough and, as a rule, discriminating. From a critical standpoint, Mr Berenson's short essay on the entire school is at once more general and more acute. Both these works are not only useful but absolutely indispensable to those who would go beneath the surface (1).

Burckhardt's time-honoured *Cicerone* (German and French) contains interesting notes on Architecture in Siena. Those of them which are due to C. v. Fabriczy are especially valuable. For excellent notices of Renaissance architects, and particularly of Peruzzi, see W. J. Anderson's *Architecture of the Renaissance in Italy.* A serious defect of this book, however, is that no mention is made either of Francesco di Giorgio or of Federighi.

C. C. Perkins' books on Italian Sculpture, long the standard works on the subject, although in a measure superseded by more modern writings, still contain much valuable criticism. M. Reymond's *La Sculpture Florentine* comprises various notices of Sienese sculpture, that concerning Jacopo della Quercia being the most important.

(1) We regret not being able to include in the present notice Mr F. Mason Perkins' long-promised but yet unpublished work on Sienese painting, which will undoubtedly form a valuable addition to the critical literature on the subject.

An interesting monograph on *Quercia,* by Carl Cornelius (German), throws much light upon the work of that great artist.

Of the books which treat of the Art of Siena in a general way, Professor Douglas' above mentioned *History of Siena* constitutes an ambitious attempt to cover the entire ground. Although we cannot agree with much of his criticism concerning artistic matters, we can recommend the work as a careful study of the school. His notes on Architecture are of especial value. Mr Gardner's *Story of Siena and San Gimignano* likewise deals with Sienese art in its various branches, but in a more general and less adequate manner. Mrs Richter's *Siena* (German) is an interesting and well illustrated volume, but is uneven in the attention bestowed on the various artists. Frequent and critical mention is made of different Sienese artists in M. Eugène Müntz' three volumes, *Histoire de l' Art pendant la Renaissance.*

We understand that, in the new edition of Mr. Selwyn Brinton's *Renaissance of Italian Art,* Siena will be much more fully dealt with than heretofore. Judging by his previous work, what he will have to tell us will probably be well worth reading.

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SPECIAL

Of works on special subjects, we may mention *Historical Studies of Church*

SUBJECTS

Building in the Middle Ages, by E. C. Norton. At least a third of the book is devoted to the Sienese Cathedral. We believe that it is still a standard authority even in Italy. It was, we remember, favourably reviewed in the "Arch. stor. it.".

In *The Pavement Masters of Siena,* by R. H. Hobart Cust, we have a thoroughly reliable account of the documentary history of the Pavement of the Duomo. The book is well written and adequately illustrated.

Of the "Tavolette dipinte della Biccherna e della Gabella" Mr Heywood has made a special study in his *Pictorial Chronicle of Siena;* while, in *Our Lady of August and the Palio of Siena,* the same writer has collected almost all that is known about the great annual Sienese festa (See pages 145-147 *supra*).

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* *

ST. CATHERINE

Among books relating to St. Catherine, Mrs J. E. Butler's *Catherine of Siena. A Biography,* is still probably regarded by many persons as the standard authority; but there is much to be said for Mr Gardner's contention that Augusta Theodosia Drane "deserves to be called the best of Catherine's modern biographers". Nevertheless, this appreciation would have been sadly misleading had he neglected to qualify his statement

by warning us against " her historical inaccuracies and her treatment of some of the Saint's political letters " (1). The point of view of the writer will be sufficiently indicated when we state that her *History of St. Catherine of Siena and her Companions* is dated from St. Dominic's Convent, Stone, and has received the *imprimatur* of Cardinal Vaughan.

A very different estimate of the life and character of Catherine will be found in *A Decade of Italian Women,* by Thomas Adolphus Trollope, who has also contributed the article on St. Catherine to the *Encyclopædia Britannica.*

For those who dislike extreme views and prefer a smaller book, we can very heartily recommend *The Story of Catherine of Siena* by Florence Witts. The fact that it is published by the Sunday School Union may perhaps deter some from buying it. In this, however, they would be ill advised. Though not absolutely free from blunders, it is pleasant reading; it tells the story of St. Catherine clearly and sympathetically, and only costs a shilling.

Still, we fancy that, for most visitors to Siena, Mr Gardner's two chapters (Chap. II, *Saint Catherine of Siena;* Chap. VII, *In the Footsteps of Saint Catherine)* will supply all that is necessary.

(1) E. G. GARDNER, *op. cit.* page 45, note 1.

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* *

It is not pleasant to turn from good books to bad, and we would very willingly leave the task of pointing out their deficiencies to others. Thus Mr Gilbert Hastings' slight and inadequate *Siena, its Architecture and Art* may be safely left to find its own level without any help from us (1).

When, however, an unreliable work is not only being vigorously pushed and widely advertised, but has already reached a second edition, it seems absolutely necessary that someone should offer a word of warning.

In their *Italian Cities* (almost half of the first volume of which is devoted to Siena) Mr and Mrs Blashfield have endeavoured to tread the same paths, which Mr W. D. Howells so successfully followed in his charming *Tuscan Cities*. To lovers of accuracy and good workmanship the result is sufficiently deplorable (2). The literary style is bad; there is a perpetual straining after effect; an unchastened proclivity to verbal pyrotechnics. For instance: what shall be said of such slipshod metaphor as this (the writers are trying to describe Siena):—" To close

(1) A review of the book will be found in the *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria*, Vol. IX, (1902) pages 397-400.

(2) It is, perhaps, only fair to mention that the following criticisms have reference almost exclusively to that portion of the book which treats of Siena. The rest may be of higher quality, but to one, at any rate, of the writers of this notice, the prospect of reading further was fraught with too many terrors to be needlessly faced.

the eyes is still to see the narrow ways climbing the slopes and piercing brown arches; the close-set houses sweeping like billows now downward, now upward, tossed here and there into higher jet of palace or church, breaking into a spray of towers, till all are crested by the foam-like sculpture of the Duomo"! It is perfectly true that Alfieri has spoken of "*Siena... ove torreggia e siede*"; but, though she "towers", she "sits", and sits firm, with no such aguish tremblings and torture-twisted writhings as are here described. "Climbing", "piercing", "sweeping", "tossed into a jet", "breaking into spray", "crested with foam"—Ruskin might have written something after that sort and made it effective, but we feel sure that he would have finally frozen it all. As it stands, it is one of the most 'awful examples' in the way of fine writing with which we are acquainted; and the book is filled with just such passages. Presumably, this is the stuff which the *Atlantic Monthly* calls "literary urbanity". The term, we admit, has a pleasanter sound than that which we should have adopted, and, when defined, may serve as well.

Sometimes this itch for fine phrasing results even more disastrously, as where it is stated that "Siena like a true daughter of Rome is throned superbly upon many hills". The hills upon which Siena is throned are conventionally

three. Possibly it might be more strictly accurate to speak of three ridges of one hill.

However, there are mistakes enough in the book for which "literary urbanity" cannot be held responsible. The authors have read a good deal, but they seem to have trusted entirely to their memories in utilizing the material gathered. For them, the story of Siena appears to be a long vague vista of "miracles", "ecstatic nuns", "socialistic painters", with a background of gore. When they endeavour to be definite they too often fall into error. Characteristic examples of their slovenly methods are to be found in the phrase, "Ambrogio di Lorenzo's battle of Torrita", and in the invention, or rather resuscitation, of the Contrada dell' Orso to take part in a modern Palio!

The book, as we have hinted, has been extensively "puffed". For instance, it has been dubbed "the sanest, most catholic, and most conclusive art criticism of recent times". To call such a statement a gross exaggeration is hardly strong enough. We, of course, fully admit that Mr and Mrs Blashfield are not responsible for such advertisements. What they are responsible for—and it utterly mars such small merits as their book possesses—is their insufferably patronizing style of criticism. This is noticeable throughout, and particularly so when they concern themselves with the old

Sienese painters. That no such pose is justified, a very casual inspection of their work will suffice to demonstrate.

In spite of all this it is possible that the volume in question may have served a useful end. It has had a wide circulation in the United States, and has very probably aroused an interest in Italian Architecture and Italian Art among persons who previously cared nothing at all for such matters. This is well; but we solemnly warn the visitor to Siena not to trust it too implicitly. In a word, the prudent reader will verify all the statements made by Mr and Mrs Blashfield before mentally docketting them as facts.

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We subjoin a list of Books and Authorities, containing not only such English works as treat especially of Siena but also works of a more general character concerned with the Second Part of this *Guide*.

Anderson, W. J. *Architecture of the Renaissance in Italy*. London, B. T. Batsford.

Armstrong, E. *The Sienese Statutes of 1262*. In the *English Historical Review*. No. 57, vol. XV. January, 1900. London, Longmans.

Benrath, K. *Bernardino Ochino of Siena*. London, 1876.

Berenson, B. *The Central Italian Painters of the Renaissance.* New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1897.

Bevir, J. L. *Visitor's Guide to Siena and San Gimignano.* London, Edward Stamford, 1885.

Blashfield, E. H., and E. W. *Italian Cities.* New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900, 2 vols.

Brinton, Selwyn. *The Republic of Siena,* being Part I, section II, of *the Renaissance of Italian Art.* London, Simpkin, Marshall and Co., Ld.

Burckhardt. *Cicerone.* Achte Auflage, bearbeitet von Dr. Bode. Leipzig & Berlin.

Butler, J. E. *Catherine of Siena. A Biography.*

Cornelius, C. *Jacopo della Quercia.* Halle, 1896.

Creighton, M. *A History of the Papacy from the Great Schism to the Sack of Rome.* New edition. London, Longmans, 1899, 6 vols.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle. *A New History of Painting in Italy.* London, 1864, 3 vols.

Cummings, C. A. *History of Italian architecture from Constantine to the Renaissance.* New York, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1901. 2 vols.

Cust, R. H. Hobart. *The Pavement Masters of Siena.* London, Geo. Bell and Sons, 1901.

Day, Lewis F., *The Wonder of Siena.* Two articles in the *Magazine of Art.* Sept. and Oct., 1894.

Douglas, Langton. *The Majolica of Siena the Nineteenth Century,* Sept., 1900.

Douglas, Langton. *A History of Siena.* London, John Murray, 1902.

Drane, A. T. *The History of St. Catherine of Siena and her Companions.* London, Longmans, 1899. 2 vols.

Fenton, Geoffrey. *Certaine Tragicall Discourses.* In the "Tudor Translation Series". With an Introduction by R. Langton Douglas. London, D. Nutt, 1897.

Gardner, E. G. *The Story of Siena and San Gimignano.* London, J. M. Dent and Co, 1902.

Guida Artistica della Città e Contorni di Siena. Siena, Lazzeri, 1883.

Hastings, G. *Siena, its Architecture and Art.* London. The De La More Press, 1902.

Heywood, W. *The "Ensamples" of Fra Filippo. A Study of Mediæval Siena.* Siena, E. Torrini, 1901.

Heywood, W. *Our Lady of August and the Palio of Siena.* Siena, E. Torrini, 1899.

Heywood. W. *A Pictorial Chronicle of Siena.* Siena, E. Torrini, 1902.

Howells, W. D. *Tuscan Cities.* Leipzig, Heinemann & Balestier, 1900.

Layard-Kugler. *Italian Schools of Painting.* London, John Murray, 1900, 2 vols.

Lindsay. *Christian Art.* London, 1847, 2 vols.

Müntz, E. *Histoire de l'Art pendant la Renaissance.* Paris, Hachette, 3 vols.

Norton, C. E. *Historical Studies of Church Building in the Middle Ages.* New York, Harper, 1880.

Pastor, Ludwig. *History of the Popes, from the End of the Middle Ages...* English translation by Father Antrobus.

Perkins, C. C. *Historical Handbook of Italian Sculpture.* New York, 1883.

Promis. *Vita di Francesco di Giorgio Martini,* &c. Torino, 1841.

Reymond, M. *La Sculpture Florentine.* Florence, Alinari Frères. 4 vols.

Richter, L. M. *Siena.* Leipzig & Berlin, Seemann, 1901.

Rio. *De l' Art Chrétien.* Paris.

Symonds, J. A. *The Renaissance in Italy.* London. Smith, Elder & Co., 7 vols.

Trollope, T. A. *A Decade of Italian Women.* London, Chapman and Hall, 1859. 2 vols.

Vasari. *Le Vite.* Firenze, Sansoni, 1878-1882. 8 vols.

Villari, P. *The Two First Centuries of Florentine History* (English translation). London, Fisher Unwin, 1901.

Witts, Florence, *The Story of Catherine of Siena.* London, "Splendid Lives Series".

NOTE. A large number of pamphlets and articles, bearing on art-historical matters, have been published at different periods by Sienese and other Italian writers, such as Lisini, Lusini, Rossi, Rocchi, Pantanelli &c.



USEFUL INFORMATION

HOTELS, PENSIONS.

Grand Hôtel Royal de Sienne, Via Cavour, with its back to the Lizza. (English landlady).

Grand Hôtel Continental, Via Cavour, opposite the Post Office.

Aquila Nera, Via Cavour, No. 3.

La Toscana, Via del Re, No. 4 (unpretending but good).

Pensione Santa Caterina, Via delle Belle Arti, No. 31 (excellent cuisine).

Pensione Chiusarelli, Viale Curtatone.

Pensione Saccaro (formerly **Tognazzi**), Via Sallustio Bandini.

Pensione Rigoni, Piazza Provenzano Salvani.

Pensione Romualdi (formerly **Pasquini**), Via delle Belle Arti, No. 19.

CAFÊS, CONFECTIONERS, RESTAURANTS, &c.

Caffè Greco, nearly opposite the Circolo degli Uniti.

Restaurants. *Il Sasso,* Via Cavour, No. 14. *La Scala,* Piazza S. Giovanni and Via Diacceto, No. 10. *Bonifazi,* Croce del Travaglio. *Centrale,* Costarella.

Confectioners. *Mosca* (formerly *Corradini)* Via Cavour, No. 3 (**afternoon tea**). *Riacci e Barblan,* Via Cavour, opposite the Via dei Rossi. *Vivi,* Via Cavour, No. 16, next door to the Post Office.

Beer at *Bader's* in the Lizza, and at the *Caffè Greco.*

Whiskey. Scotch and American Whiskeys and imported wines at *Riacci e Barblan,* Via Cavour, opposite the Via de' Rossi.

Tobacco. Wills' "Capstan Navy Cut" at the tobacconist's in the Piazza dell' Indipendenza.

CONVEYANCES.

Cabs and Carriages. *Natale Turillazzi,* Via Cavour, No. 25. *Antonio Gracci,* Via delle Terme, No. 15. *Lorenzo Franci,* Via Ricasoli, No. 30.

Bicycles. *Brizzi,* Via delle Belle Arti, Nos. 11 & 13.

Physicians and Surgeons. *Beccarini,* Via del Casato, No. 22. *Bordoni,* Via di Città,(1) No. 31. *Spediacci,* Via delle Belle Arti, No. 21.

Dentist. *Cianchi,* Via delle Terme, No. 17 (Strongly recommended).

Chemists. *Coli,* Croce del Travaglio. *Parenti,* Via Cavour, No. 7, opposite the Libreria Torrini. *Sapori,* Via Ricasoli No. 9 (Panforte, a specialty of Siena, sold by all).

Banker and Money Changer. *V. Crocini,* Via Cavour, No. 12. *Banco di Roma,* Piazza Tolomei.

Notary Public. *F. Del Puglia,* Via di Città (1), No. 7 nearly opposite the *Caffè Greco* (on the first floor).

Baths. Hot and cold Baths, *Mazzei,* Via Giovanni Duprè, No. 45. Swimming Bath in Fontebranda.

Hairdresser. *Consorti,* Via Cavour, No. 3.

(1) Recently rechristened Via Umberto I.

This is only one example among many of the rapid disappearance of time-honoured names which has followed the unification of Italy. The result, deplorable in any case, would be less exasperating to the student if the old title were recorded under the new, as has been done in the Piazza, where the inscription runs "Piazza Vittorio Emanuele già del Campo".

SHOPS, &c.

Bookseller. *Torrini,* (Old and new books) Via Cavour, No. 8.

Photographs. *Lombardi,* opposite the Costarella (Speaks English). Agency for *Alinari's* photographs, Via Cavour, No. 7.

Antiquities. *Torrini,* Via Cavour, No. 8. *Basetti,* Via Cavour, No. 31.

Wood-Carving. *Cambi,* Via di Città (1). *Corsini,* Via del Capitano, No. 5.

Iron Work. *Zalaffi,* Via di Città (1). *Franci,* Via Garibaldi.

Bookbinding. Lessons in artistic bookbinding, *Torrini,* Via delle Terme, No. 19.

Picture Frames and Gilding. *Corsi,* Via delle Terme, No. 2.

Market, for cattle. First Monday each month. General market held daily in Piazza del Mercato.

ENGLISH CHURCH SERVICES. See page 6 *supra.*

(1) See note on preceding page.





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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

PART I.

Page 7, line 7. *For* authorites *read* authorities.

Page 7, line 8. *For* confermation *read* confirmation.

Page 10, lines 11, 12. *For* Nero di Donati *read* Neri di Donato.

Page 23, last line. I took the date, 1125, from Professor PAOLI's *Siena*, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. It would, however, appear to be a misprint for 1135.—See Cav. A. LISINI's *Preface* to the *Costituto del Comune di Siena volgarizzato nel MCCCIX-MCCCX*. (Siena, Tip. Lazzeri, 1903) Vol. I. page VII.

Page 32, line 17. It has been suggested that the clause beginning: "while from Montalcino she was able to dominate the Maremma", is open to misconstruction. The "invasion" there spoken of, and against which Montalcino was "able to guard", would, of course, not be an attack upon Siena itself. That would either come through the Val d'Elsa or by the way of Chianti. If, however, the Florentines attempted to advance upon Talamone, Portercole and the Sienese Maremma, they would, I apprehend, be likely to march by the way of Volterra (Compare ROSDONI, *Sena Vetus*, p. 401: and Montalcino might well "guard against" such an invasion by joining hands with Grosseto in the Valley of the Ombrone; thus effectually barring all further progress to the southward.

Page 41, line 1. *Before the words* Siena had been excommunicated, *insert*, With one brief interval.

Page 70, line 6. *For* Compania *read* Compagnia.

Page 71, line 12, *et passim*. *For* Nero di Donati *read* Neri di Donato.

Page 108, line 14. *For* Magnificient *read* Magnificent.

Page 108, note (1). *Add* With regard to the title of *Il Magnifico*, which was borne alike by Lorenzo de' Medici and by Pandolfo Petrucci, it may be noticed that Mr Gardnér, in his *Story of Siena and San Gimignano* (page 207, note), remarks that "*Magnificence* was a much less pretentious title at the end of the Quattrocento than it sounds now". Speaking generally, this is, of course, incontrovertible; but it is, I conceive, equally certain that, when a man was habitually spoken of as *Il Magnifico*, the appellation was a much higher one than when it was used, like our modern "Mr.", in connection with a name. Between such a mode of address as *le Magnificenze Vostre* (which we find adopted in letters to the Sienese magistrates), or such courtesy titles as *Il Magnifico Astorre*, *Il Magnifico Vitellozzo* &c. &c. (so often encountered in the Perugian chronicles), and

Il Magnifico simply, there is a very wide difference. May we not find an analogy in our English word *Esquire*? John Smith Esquire may be simply a retired grocer; whereas, if we speak of John Smith as "an esquire", we imply that he possesses a definite place in the table of precedence above that of a mere "gentleman". With regard to Pandolfo Petrucci (*Il Magnifico* with whom we, in this place, are especially concerned) it is interesting to note that, in 1490, he was spoken of as *Illustrissimo*, a title which, in those days, was, as a rule, only applied to sovereign princes.—See Pecci *Memorie &c., op. cit.*, I, 131 note.

Page 110, lines 17, 18. "It seemed as if the month of hell were opened—*fusse aperta la bocca dell'Inferno*". In the chronicle from which the account is drawn, these words do not refer to the fury of the mob, but to that of the elements—*uno stranissimo tempo*, wherewith the fiends welcomed Raffaello's evil soul.

Page 132, line 21. *After the words* "Scelta di Curiosità Letterarie inedite e rare", *add the following*:- while a critical study of the life and works of the poet will be found in the *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* (Torino, Loescher, 1841) Vol. 18. Fasc. 1., pp. 1-75.

Part II.

Page 199, line 28. *For* Bernado *read* Bernardo.

Page 170, line 3. *For* Expulsion *read* Vision.

Page 192, lines 22-24. It is improbable that Pintoricchio himself painted in S. Onofrio.

Page 193, note. *For* Dr. Gustav, *read* Dr. Gustavo, Frizzoni.

Page 230, line 3. *For* 14th, *read* 13th, century.

Page 231, line 9: p. 209, line 19: p. 284, line 11. *For* Mino di Pellicciaio *read* Jacopo di Mino del Pellicciaio.

Page 255, note, line 8. *For* "below this" *read* "below these".

Page 262, lines 3-6. One of the missing *putti* from the Baptismal Font of S. Giovanni, evidently by Donatello, has recently been acquired by the Berlin Museum. Another *putto*, bearing a strong resemblance, in point of style, to that now in Berlin, is in the Museo Nazionale (Bargello) at Florence, and was probably once intended for the same Font.

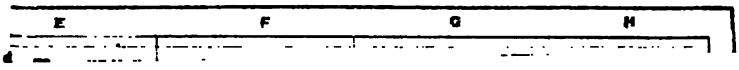
Page 280, lines 13-15. *For* "over high-altar" *read* "over altar of adjoining chapel".

Page 294, lines 20-21. *For* Casa Sallustio Bandini *read* Casa di Sallustio Bandini.

Page 341, line 21. *For* Monistero *read* Il Monistero.

Page 350, lines 28-29. *For* "The Majolica of Siena the Nineteenth Century, &c." *read* "The Majolica of Siena. In the Nineteenth Century, &c.".




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